KAPISANANG PANGKASAYSAYAN NG PILIPINAS
1955

HISTORICAL BULLETIN

VOLUME XLIII
2009

TEACHING RIZAL IN THE CLASSROOM
Making the Rizal Course Relevant in Our Time

PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
Founded 1955

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HISTORICAL BULLETIN is the official journal of the Philippine Historical Association (PHA). Its first issue came out in July 1957 and was called *Buletin ng Kapisanang Pangkasaysayan ng Pilipinas*. The editor of the first issue was Encarnacion Alzona; the associate editors included Teodoro Agoncillo, Filemon Guerra, Horacio de la Costa and Nicolas Zafra. In 1959, the *Buletin* was renamed *Historical Bulletin*.

The *Historical Bulletin* provides a venue for historical research and scholarship among its members. It has had special issues in honor of Filipino heroes and statesmen and significant events and themes in Philippine history. In more recent times, it publishes the proceedings of the annual conferences of the PHA.

The articles in the ***Historical Bulletin*** do not represent the views and opinions of the editorial board nor the Board of Governors of the PHA. Accuracy of facts and views presented is solely the responsibility of the authors.

The ***Historical Bulletin*** is published annually and comes out every September during the annual conference of the PHA.

Inquiries regarding the ***Historical Bulletin*** should be addressed to the Editor, Philippine Historical Association and mailed to the National Historical Institute at T.M. Kalaw St., Ermita, Manila.

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Preface

This volume puts together the lectures that were delivered in the series of seminar-workshops entitled *Teaching Rizal in the Classroom: Making the Rizal Course Relevant in Our Time* that we started in 2005 and continued during our term as president of the Philippine Historical Association (PHA) from 2006 to 2008.

All in all, there were four seminar-workshops held, the first at the Rizal Shrine in Dapitan, Zamboanga del Norte in 2005; the second in Silliman University in Dumaguete, Oriental Negros in 2006, the third at the University of San Agustin in Iloilo City in 2007; and the fourth at Xavier University in Cagayan de Oro City in 2008.

This series of seminar-workshops was made possible through funding given to the PHA by the Technical Working Group of the Rizal Day Committee for 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008 chaired by Hon. Ludovico D. Badoy who is also the Executive Director of the National Historical Institute.

The aim in holding these seminar-workshops was to address the needs of teachers of the Rizal Course which were principally to strengthen the teaching of the course and to provide new teaching techniques in making the Rizal Course interesting and relevant.

The topics revolve on the biography and the literary works of Rizal. For every venue, effort was made to deliver new lectures with the end in view of compiling these lectures to serve as a supplement in teaching the Rizal Course. This is meant to be the PHA's contribution in the effort to promote the teachings, ideals and aspirations of our heroes, especially Jose Rizal.

It is worthwhile to note that the speakers are teachers of the Rizal Course in their respective colleges and universities which makes them knowledgeable, first of all, on the life and works of Rizal, and secondly, on what needs to be emphasized in order to enrich the teaching of the Rizal Course.

Hon. Ambeth R. Ocampo, Chairman of the National Historical Institute, himself a PHA Past President, delivered an extemporaneous keynote speech during the seminar-workshop held in Iloilo culled from his extensive knowledge and the many articles that he has written on Rizal. We are reproducing in this volume the lecture that he delivered at the 29th Annual Rizal Lecture held at Fort Santiago on December 30, 1995 which best covers much of what he talked about in the said seminar-workshop.

The Document Section includes *Republic Act No. 1425* (RizalLaw) and the article that we delivered as speaker of the June Monthly Lecture (2007) of the Ortigas Foundation Library entitled *Jose Rizal and the Philippine Historical Association: An Enduring Partnership: 1955-2007* which explains the strong bias of the PHA for Jose Rizal.

CELESTINA P. BONCAN
Editor

Message

It is most heartening that the Philippine Historical Association has made the utmost effort to insure that the life and works of our national hero, Jose Rizal, remain steadfast in the hearts and minds of our people through the conduct of the seminar-workshop *Teaching Rizal in the Classroom: Making the Rizal Course Relevant in Our Time.*

This compilation of lectures that were delivered in the four seminar-workshops held in Dapitan, Dumaguete, Iloilo and Cagayan de Oro will surely benefit students and teachers of the Rizal Course. It will most definitely provide a refreshing way of conducting the Rizal Course.

On behalf of the National Historical Institute and the Technical Working Group (TWG) of the Rizal Day Committee, I would like to convey the most sincere felicitations to the PHA. Truly, it has been a pleasure partnering with you in spreading Rizal's message of patriotism to the rest of our countrymen.

Again, congratulations to the officers and members of the PHA for a successful and productive endeavor. May the PHA continue in strengthening the collective memory of Rizal, our national hero. All the best in all of your future undertakings!

LUDOVICO D. BADOY
Chairman
Technical Working Group
Rizal Day Committee
and
Executive Director
National Historical Institute

Table of Contents

Preface
Celestina Boncan

Message
Ludovico Badoy

Keynote Speech
MEMORY AND AMNESIA: Rizal on the Eve of His Centenary 1
Ambeth Ocampo

SEMINAR IN DAPITAN 18

FROM CALAMBA TO BAGUMBAYAN: The Development of Rizal's Nationalism 19
Celestina Boncan

RIZAL'S POEMS: Insights on Education, Nature and Love of Country 23
Estrellita Muhi

DECIPHERING RIZAL'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY: The Essays of Rizal 37
Celestina Boncan

RIZAL'S NOVELS: Political Satire of 19th Century Philippine Society 40
Estrellita Muhi

TEACHING RIZAL USING A MUSEUM 48
Gabriel Cad

SEMINAR IN DUMAGUETE 50

RIZAL IN ATENEO AND UST: Education
In Manila, 1872-1882 51
Estrellita Muhi

JOURNEY INTO LIGHT: Rizal in Europe
1882-1887 58
Celestina Boncan

JOSE RIZAL AS CRISOSTOMO IBARRA:
Paradigm of Author and Character as One 70
Celestina Boncan

FIFTY YEARS OF THE RIZAL LAW: 77
What Have We Learned?
Augusto de Viana

SEMINAR IN ILOILO 89

RIZAL IN HONG KONG: Its Impact on Rizal's
Decision to Return to the Philippines 90
Celestina Boncan

ANG HACIENDA SA CALAMBA, 1887-1891: 99
Ang Pamilya Rizal sa Gitna ng Tunggalian
Jerome Ong

"EL AMOR PATRIO" 108
Rizal's Blueprint for Patriotism
Celestina Boncan

ANG KATAMARAN NG MGA PILIPINO: 115
Isang Maikling Komentaryo
Jerome Ong

SEMINAR IN CAGAYAN DE ORO 119

"UNTI-UNTI AKONG NAGBAGO" 120
Ang Buhay-Estudyante ni Rizal sa Ateneo
Jonathan Balsamo

DARKNESS AFTER THE LIGHT: 146
Rizal Back in the Philippines 1887-1888
Celestina Boncan

RIZAL MEETS PIO VALENZUELA: 155
The Conference of Jose Rizal and
Pio Valenzuela in Dapitan
Arleigh Ross de la Cruz

RECONCILING FAITH AND REASON: 166
Rizal's Religious Views in the
Rizal-Pastells Letters
Arleigh Ross dela Cruz

TUNGO SA MAHUSAY AT 176
MALIKHAING PAGTUTURO NG
KASAYSAYAN: Workshop sa Paggamit ng
Primaryang Batis sa Pagtuturo ng Kasaysayan
Jonathan Balsamo

DOCUMENTS

Republic Act No. 1425 (Rizal Law) 179

JOSE RIZAL AND THE PHILIPINE 182
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION: An Enduring
Partnership: 1955-2007
Celestina Boncan

ABOUT THE AUTHORS 191

MEMORY AND AMNESIA:
Rizal on the Eve of His Centenary

HON. AMBETH R. OCAMPO

Manila is famous for its postcard-pretty sunsets viewed best from the bayside Rizal Park, also known as the "Luneta." Today, not all promenaders and tourists who enjoy the park's greenery and open spaces know of its tragic history --- of a time when the manicured grass was stained with the dried blood of criminals, patriots, and martyrs. In the late nineteenth century, executions were as common as the afternoon musicals at the Luneta, then known as Bagumbayan or "new field," and people came to watch rather matter-of-factly, as if these were part of the week's entertainment.

On December 30, 1896, however, the curious crowd for the execution was larger than usual because that morning's sole victim was a prominent novelist and physician, Jose Rizal, reputed to be the head of the revolution against Spain that had broken out in the last days of August 1896. It was rumored that in one of his anti-colonial speeches he had roused his countrymen by declaring that "The most beautiful day for the Philippines will be that when we can drink wine from Spanish skulls!"[1] By ending the life of this traitor to Spain with bullets in his back, and later one more --- the *coup de grace* --- in the back of the head at close range, to make sure he was dead, the colonial authorities hoped to instill enough fear in the natives to quell the revolt.

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[1] Rizal, in his journal entry of September 18, 1896 wonders why "intelligent people believe it. At first, it made me laugh much, but afterwards I felt sorry for the Spaniards who swallowed such idiotic nonsense." *Reminiscences and Travels* (Manila: Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1961), p. 201

Before 1896, there had been a period of relative peace --- twenty-four years without any serious uprising against the colonial government. This was credited to the public execution, also at the Luneta, of three secular priests --- Mariano Gomez, Jose Burgos, and Jacinto Zamora --- by means of the *garrote*. Rizal's execution was calculated to produce the same effect as that of the three priests in 1872, but it only fueled the revolt even more. Within two years of Rizal's death, Spain as a consequence of the Philippine Revolution and a losing war against the United States of America had to give up the overseas colony she had held for almost four centuries.

Jose Rizal, the Philippine National Hero was a man of many gifts: a multi-lingual writer, poet, artist, scholar, and physician, as well as a leading figure in a movement that called for basic reforms and civil liberties in the Spanish overseas colony. Writing in his journal on September 29, 1896 Rizal reacted to:

> "fanciful stories about me. I'm going to become a legendary personage. Friends and enemies invent fabulous stories which elevate me and improbable stories to harm me and they find people who are considered educated to believe them."[1]

Rizal had indeed become legendary in his lifetime --- and this has grown worse a century after his death --- but to family and friends, he naturally remained an ordinary human being, only more principled and talented, who wanted to see changes in Philippine colonial society. To his enemies, Rizal was a subversive, a separatist, a filibuster. To the simple folk, he was a Christ-like figure[2] who literally "gave sight to the blind" His medical cures were often deemed miraculous because his patients did not realize that Rizal was, perhaps, the only ophthalmic surgeon in the Philippines or even in the whole of Southeast Asia at that time.[1] A few months after his execution, Rizal was reported to the Spanish Governor General to be alive and well in Cavite, a town south of Manila, with the martyred Fr. Jose Burgos![2]

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[1] *Op cit*, p. 205

[2] The Spanish philosopher Miguel de Unamuno writing in 1907 called Rizal the "Tagalog Christ."

The Spanish Governor General was sent a report dated March 29, 1897 (three months after Rizal's death) stating that:

> "The natives in some districts such as Pandacan, San Juan del Monte, San Felipe Nery in this capital believe in the rumors circulating that Jose Rizal, executed last December (sic) in Bagumbayan is not dead as stated in the papers but, on the contrary, is alive and well because of a miracle."
>
> "After the execution of Rizal, the body was wrapped and loaded into a carriage which was enveloped by a rose-coloured cloud, which followed the carriage all the way to the cemetery where, upon reaching the gates, the soldiers discovered that Rizal's body had disappeared and in its place was a beautiful white cock which then flew in the direction of Cavite to join the soul of Fr. Burgos executed in 1872 who was alive and hiding in that province … the natives also believe that the corpse of Rizal transfers itself miraculously from place to place within the (Paco) cemetery."[3]

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[1] Austin Coates, Rizal's British biographer, in an interview, expressed this opinion.

[2] Philippine National Archives (PNA), Varias Personas section, Rizal Bundle, Folder F, Document 3

[3] Ambeth R. Ocampo, *Rizal Without the Overcoat* (Pasig: Anvil Publishing, 1993) p. 16

During his trial, the military prosecutors had drawn a picture of Rizal based not only on their records but largely on rumors and secret reports, branding him as:

> "The great agitator of the Philippines, who is not only convinced that he is to be the chosen vessel of a kind of redemption of his race, but who is considered by the masses of the native population to be a superhuman being, a being incapable of being subjected to any restraint that might prevent him from fulfilling his providential mission."[1] (Italics mine)

Building on this general consciousness, the schismatic Philippine Independent Church "canonized" Rizal at the turn of the century taking him one step further to deification. Some Philippine religious sects, popularly known as "Rizalistas"[2] or interchangeably "kolorums"[3] actually worship Rizal as god.

Today, the Rizal cult continues to be propagated by these religious sects that venerate him either as a hero, a saint, or a god --- or all of the above. On a more secular and civic basis, by the State through education, national holidays, commemorations and symbols. All students in the Philippine educational system take compulsory courses on the life and works of Rizal.[1] Every town plaza and many a school yard in the whole breadth of the Philippine archipelago has a statue of Rizal and most towns and cities have an obligatory Rizal Avenue, Rizal Street or at least an *esquinita* in honor of Rizal. Rizal's profile is embossed on the most circulated currency, the one-peso coin.[2] The anniversary of his birth, June 19, is a local holiday in Laguna and his day of martyrdom, December 30, is kept as a National Holiday with early morning wreath-laying ceremony led by the President of the Republic of the Philippines in Rizal Park.

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[1] Horacio de la Costa, SJ (ed) *Trial of Rizal* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1964) p. 120

[2] Most numerous and prominent among these are the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi (Church of the Flag of the Race) on Lecheria Hill a few kilometers outside Rizal's birthplace in Calamba, Laguna and the Ciudad Mistica de Dios (Mystical City of God) which is nestled in Mt. Banahaw, Laguna.

[3] *Kolorum* comes from the last words in the Roman Catholic doxology, "et in saecula saeculorum." Though originally used to refer to schismatic or indigenous sects, the term *kolorum* in current usage refers to anything illegal or unofficial. For example, unlicensed taxicabs or jeepneys.

The greatest irony of all is the fact that Rizal is obscured by his own omnipresence. As I have been repeatedly saying the past few years, Rizal's greatest misfortune was becoming the National Hero of the Philippines. He is everywhere and therefore nowhere. Rizal was and is a different man to different people in different times. Like a text or a piece of literature or poetry, Rizal is open to varied interpretations. In this sense our relationship with Rizal is one of alternating memory and amnesia: Did he support the revolution or repudiate it? Did Rizal see himself as a Filipino or as a Spaniard or as a Spanish Filipino? In many respects, Rizal can be read, interpreted, or misinterpreted.

By examining Rizal and the writings --- both primary and secondary --- that keep him in the consciousness of

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[1] As required by Republic Act 1425, otherwise known as the "Rizal Bill" this being: "An act to include in the curricula of all public and prvate schools, colleges, and universities courses on the life, works, and writings of Jose Rizal, particularly his novels *Noli me tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, authorizing the printing and distribution thereof, and for other purposes." Approved into law by both Senate and Congress of the Philippines on June 12, 1956.

[2] Until recently, Rizal's profile was also on the two-peso bill. This duplication was later corrected by placing the profile of Andres Bonifacio on the two-peso coin, thus responding positively to the complaints of some sectors that Bonifacio is "officially" forgotten in favor of Rizal as National Hero. More recently, however, the Bonifacio two-peso coin has been demonetized. The Great Plebeian now shares the ten-peso bill with Mabini, the Sublime Paralytic.

Filipinos, it will be possible to separate historical truth from hagiography and see the "real" Rizal emerge from the one cloaked in myth.

From the above example, we see that very few people get to know Rizal by reading Rizal and this explains the conflicting effects of memory and amnesia in our relationship with our national hero. We make Rizal in our own image and likeness. Our image of Rizal is usually formed or deformed in school through numerous biographies with flattering titles such as *Rizal: Asia's First Apostle of Nationalism* by Gregorio Zaide 1970); *The Hero of the Philippines* by Charles Russel (1923); *A People's Hero: Rizal of the Philippines* by Bernard Reines (1971); *The Great Malayan* by Carlos Quirino (1940); *Pride of the Malay Race* by Rafael Palma (1949); *Man of the Century* by Pedro Gagelonia (1964); or *Rizal Beyond the Grave: A Reiteration of the Greatness of the Martyr of Bagumbayan* by Ricardo Pascual (1950). With the bulk of current literature on Rizal being textbooks used in the compulsory Rizal courses from the primary to the university level, you can imagine how Rizal is depicted way beyond himself.

All Rizal biographies and studies claim to draw upon his compiled correspondence and writings but closer reading will show that most books rely on five secondary works. These are: Wenceslao Emilio Retana's *Vida y escritos del Dr. Jose Rizal* (1907); Austin Craig's *Life, Lineage and Labors of Jose Rizal* (1913); Rafael Palma's *Biografia de Rizal* (1938); Leon Maria Guerrero's *The First Filipino* (1963); and Austin Coates' *Rizal: Philippine Nationalist and Martyr* (1968). Evidently, no other influential or definitive Rizal biography has been published in the past 25 years.

The first important biography of Rizal appeared in 1907 in Spanish, *Vida y escritos del Dr. Jose Rizal*, by Wenceslao Emilio Retana, a contemporary of Rizal, who carefully left out of his book the fact that he was rabidly anti-*indio* and anti-Rizal during the last decade of the Spanish colonial period. His sudden change of heart is totally out of character, and it has been suggested that Retana simply wanted to sell his book by riding on the crest of the Rizal cult.[1] Rizal is so profitable that even former enemies use him for fame and fortune. The theme of this work is the assertion that Rizal was, to the end, a loyal Spanish subject misunderstood by the Spanish colonial authorities that sought his execution.

A reaction to Retana is provided by the American Austin Craig in a savage page by page, line by lie, critique entitled *Los errors de Retana*, asking what had made the formerly anti-*indio* Retana turn full circle. Craig published his angry critique in 1910, and followed it with a full biography, *Life, Lineage and Labors of Jose Rizal* in1913. Craig's work emphasized how evil and corrupt the Spanish colonial system was compared to the benevolent American colonial system, of which he implies Rizal would have approved.

Retana's *Vida y escritos de Rizal* and Craig's *Life, Lineage and Labors of Jose Rizal* were pioneering in the sense that they were written long before the publication of Rizal's collected correspondence, the precious five-volume, six-book *Epistolario Rizalino* which came off the government presses slowly, one by one, from 1930-1938.

Retana and Craig, despite this handicap, were assiduous researchers who traced extant Rizal manuscripts and other primary sources on their subject. They also had the advantage of having available the living voices and reminiscences of associates, contemporaries and direct family members of Rizal. Later biographies were drawn basically from the research of these two men, especially Craig, whose work was more accessible because it was in English and was a prescribed school textbook.

From within the University of the Philippines, Craig reached out to a wider audience by writing popular articles, books and monographs on Rizal that later became standard reference works on Rizal or supplementary reading in the public school system thus eclipsing Retana's work and obscuring the Spanish viewpoint. These two different men are important because their books reflect the reconstruction of Rizal for specific uses. Retana made Rizal pro-Spanish, while Craig painted him anti-Spanish.

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[1] Cf. Biographical essay on Retana in J. Schumacher, *The Making of a Nation* (QC: ADMU Press, 1997)

In 1938, the Commonwealth Government of the Philippines sponsored a nationwide contest for the best biography of Rizal. The first prize winner was the retired president of the University of the Philippines, Rafael Palma, whose *Biografia de Rizal* was deemed so controversial in its treatment of Rizal's last few hours[1] that it failed to see print until 1949, by which time only a few Filipinos read Spanish. [2]Palma made a stand against the alleged retraction of Rizal and painted Rizal as a victim of Spanish injustice who remained anti-Catholic to the end. The English translation of Palma, as *Pride of the Malay Race* by Roman Ozaeta, was published simultaneously in 1949, but was likewise opposed by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the Philippines, which considered it sinful for Catholics to read or even own a copy of the Palma book.

When the Department of Education approved the Palma biography as supplementary reading for state schools, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cebu issued a strongly worded pastoral letter stating that the Palma biography was:

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[1] The alleged retraction of Rizal from masonry and religious error, his death's door return to the Roman Catholic faith of his childhood, remain a controversial and unsettled issue in Rizal studies.

[2] Proof of this can be seen in the Philippine National Library in Manila which has one stockroom filled with the government-printed *Biografia de Rizal*. When this writer was Consultant to the Library (1987-1990), he encouraged attempts to clear the stocks by giving the book away to schools, libraries, universities and academics who requested them. There were very few takers. When I pressed some teachers to tell me why they were not interested, their reply was that they did not read Spanish.

Ambeth Ocampo

> "… deprecatory of institutions of Catholic Church and pernicious to the spiritual health of the faithful especially the youth of both sexes for whom the book has been approved and introduced in public schools as home reading … *we hereby prohibit under pain of sin and canonical sanctions the reading, keeping or retention of the same whether in the original or in translation in the Archdiocese of Manila and Cebu.*"[1] (Italics mine)

A less controversial winner in the Commonwealth Biography Contest was Asuncion Lopez-Bantug, a grandniece of Rizal, whose manuscript, originally written in 1938, saw print only in 1982 under the title *Lolo Jose* (and once again transformed in 1997 as *Indio Bravo*). Despite its occasional lack of documentation, this charming work is indispensable, since it was written using family memories and oral history not available outside the Rizal clan. Here, Rizal regained some of the humanity he lost when he became national hero.

The postwar period, especially from 1960, saw a proliferation of works on Rizal to fill the growing need for Rizal textbooks, and to cash in on the interest generated by the centenary of Rizal's birth in 1961. Most of these books glorified Rizal, often exaggerating his accomplishments and hiding his defects, thus transforming the national hero into a superhuman being, a model for Filipinos to emulate. By this time, Rizal began to be a heavy burden for Filipinos, someone with whom ordinary mortals found impossible to identify.

Rizal's place in the pantheon of Philippine heroes was secure until the publication of Teodoro A. Agoncillo's biography of Andres Bonifacio, *Revolt of the Masses* (1956), which raised questions about Rizal's role in the Philippine Revolution, and gave birth to the lively and often over-heated debate on who should rightfully be national hero --- Rizal or Bonifacio. At the height of student activism in the late 1960's, many young militant Filipinos questioned how the non-violent, pacifist Rizal became the pre-eminent national hero over the revolutionary Andres Bonifacio, when he did not even lift a *bolo* or fire a single bullet during the Philippine Revolution. As a matter of fact, Rizal appeared to have rejected the revolution as premature and appealed to the Katipuneros to lay down their arms.

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[1] Newspaper clippings on the controversial Rizal Bill are in the Lopez Memorial Museum in Manila which houses the morgue of the pre-Martial Law *Manila Times* and *Manila Chronicle*.

It was not long till a direct and open challenge to Rizal's place in the pantheon was undertaken by Renato Constantino who pictured Rizal as an "American-sponsored hero." Paradoxically, this landmark essay, "Veneration without Understanding," was originally delivered as a Rizal Lecture in 1968, in this very place, in this same lecture series. Since Constantino's essay is used uncritically in the compulsory Rizal courses, we can safely assume that in the long run the Rizal course is counter-productive as it instills doubt and antagonism instead of affection and respect for the national hero. The myth of Rizal as a superman was beginning to crumble. Constantino thus influenced the thinking of a whole generation of post-war Filipinos. This lecture gave the militant, anti-American youth of that age a new icon to replace the quiet, reformist, anti-revolutionary, American-sponsored Rizal --- Andres Bonifacio.[1]

Rizal the *ilustrado* and colonial artifact had been pitted against Bonifacio by the Marxist interpretation of Philippine history with its emphasis on class struggle. Bonifacio was presented as the hero of the marginalized and oppressed sectors of Philippine society: the urban poor, peasants, farmers, factory workers, etc. heroes were embroiled in the class struggle as well. The pendulum thus swung from fanatical devotion to rabid anti-Rizal sentiment.

One biography that took a middle path was Leon Ma. Guerrero's *First Filipino* (1963) which won first prize in the biography contest sponsored by the Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission (JRNCC) in 1961.[1] Guerrero's elegant prose and his extensive and sensitive use of Rizal's correspondence and writings drew a new and more human picture of Rizal.[2] Guerrero's stand in favor of the controversial retraction of Rizal made his work unacceptable to one camp but most important, he stressed that Rizal was the *first* Filipino, because there was no clear and articulated concept of the Filipino and the Filipino nation before him and the Propaganda Movement of the late 1880s.

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[1] Cf. a more sober, earlier essay by Constantino, "Our Task to Make Rizal Obsolete."

Austin Coates' *Rizal: Philippine Nationalist and Martyr* (1968) is very readable and places Rizal in his proper European context. Coates had noticed that one of the basic flaws in biographies of Rizal written by Filipinos was that "they were alright as long as Rizal was in the Philippines, but tended to commit errors in their treatment of Rizal in Europe."[3] Coates also had an advantage over other postwar biographers in that he was a friend of one branch of the Rizal family (those descended from Rizal's sister Narcisa) which gave his work details and interpretations not available to those who relied only on Rizal's writings.

Coates is probably the most widely read Rizal biography in English outside the Philippines simply because it was published and distributed worldwide by the Oxford University Press. During the recent International Rizal Conference in Kuala

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[1] Although Guerrero's widely reprinted and distributed book is believed to have won first prize unanimously in the JRNCC Biography Contest, few people outside the commission know that there was one abstention. Leoncio Lopez-Rizal, commission member and nephew of Rizal, withheld his signature as juror pending Guerrero's correction of certain errors of fact and interpretation in his biography. Lopez-Rizal's objections were ignored, Guerrero won the prize and his work published as submitted.

[2] Aside from the biography, Guerrero also translated Rizal's novels: *Noli me tangere* as *Lost Eden* (1961), while *El Filibusterismo* was rendered as *The Subversive* 91962).

[3] Personal interview. Hong Kong, December 1987

Lumpur last October, it was evident that most of the non-Filipino paper readers drew upon the work of Coates, sometimes verbatim, word for word.

One must not forget, however, that the works cited above, each excellent in its own way, are only secondary sources. There is a tendency to overlook this central fact, since a major problem in current Rizal studies is language. Today's educated Filipino cannot read or understand Spanish: thus he or she is separated from Rizal and the nineteenth century by language. Due to this linguistic barrier, many current books and popular articles on Rizal are based only on the translations of Rizal's work. Worse, the five secondary sources: Retana, Craig, Palma, Guerrero and Coates are occasionally cited and utilized as if they were primary sources. Most of the distortions and the perpetuation of errors in Rizal studies stem from the lack of fresh primary research, despite the fact that this became easier with the publication in 1961 of the *Escritos de Jose Rizal* series by the Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission (JRNCC).

This series consists of thirteen volumes, or twenty-five books, of all correspondence (954 letters arranged chronologically and divided in eight volumes, according to Correspondence with: Family Members, Colleagues of the Propaganda Movement, Ferdinand Blumentritt and Other Persons) and the writings of Rizal extant or known to the JRNCC in 1961, classified and divided into literary works (poetry and prose); historical and political works; reminiscences and travels; and miscellaneous works. Unfortunately, there is no general index to the collection which would facilitate cross-referencing and the simple tracing of material. The works of Rizal are published in the original Spanish, French, German, Tagalog or English (often with offset reproduction of Rizal manuscripts), although translation of the whole series in English and Pilipino is also available. Rizal's correspondence and novels have also appeared in popular editions and have been translated into the major Philippine languages.

One would assume that many studies on Rizal would result from the publication of the *Escritos de Rizal* series. Ironically the JRNCC volumes had a negative impact on primary research on Rizal, by creating a false confidence in the completeness of the collection. Since 1961, for example, few scholars have consulted the Rizal bundle in the Philippine National Archives in Manila, or the previously uncatalogued material in the vault of the Philippine National Library in Manila.[1] By going back to libraries, archives and private collections in Manila, it is possible to find other primary sources overlooked or ignored by the JRNCC. For example, a substantial number of letters from Rizal's sisters, though not all dealing directly with Rizal, give us an insight in the milieu and the inner workings of the Rizal family that can enhance our understanding of both man and hero.

One of the most significant finds in this renewed Rizal research was the draft for a third novel after *El Filibusterismo*. Preparing for the *Noli me tangere* centennial in 1987, I worked on the unpublished drafts of the novel, "Borrador del *Noli me tangere*," in the National Library. Although the JRNCC knew of the existence of this manuscript, it was not deemed important enough to merit inclusion in the *Escritos de Rizal* series. Halfway through transcribing this hitherto unpublished Rizal manuscript, I discovered that I was holding a work other than *Noli me tangere*. Further research revealed that this unpublished manuscript was actually a draft of Rizal's third novel which was not referred to in some Rizal biographies and bibliographies. Eventually, this research was written up and submitted as a master's thesis which later saw print as *Makamisa: The Search for Rizal's Third Novel* (1992).

That this important manuscript remained unknown for a full century because of a librarian's simple error in labeling and

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[1] Ambeth R. Ocampo, *Calendar of Rizaliana in the Vault of the Philippine National Library* (Pasig: Anvil Publishing 2nd ed 1995). Despite its title, this work lists and transcribes material in the Philippine National Archives, Manila as well as in the Archives of the Spanish Foreign Ministry, Madrid.

Ambeth Ocampo

cataloguing suggests that a return to the primary sources might yield further unknown treasures. A historian can never claim to have the last word on anything as he is limited by his sources and further so by his viewpoint. Perhaps, waiting to be discovered in Spain or in some attic in the Philippines is some unknown cache of Rizal manuscripts that will change our whole view of the man. Perhaps, there is no such known material. Nevertheless, the possibility of finding new sources keeps the field of study open and constantly challenging.

Aside from the waning enthusiasm for primary source research, the other major problem plaguing Rizal studies today is the lack of continuing re-evaluation or re-consideration of the primary sources. In my case, I again stumbled on hitherto unknown territory when I consulted the original manuscript of Rizal's second novel, *El Filibusterismo*. Due to lack of funds, Rizal had to delete a large chunk of *El Filibusterismo* when it saw print. Anyone who has taken the trouble of consulting the JRNCC offset reproduction of the *El Filibusterismo* manuscript can count about 30% of the manuscript pages deleted by Rizal, much of these consequently missing from the printed text. What has been thought unreadable and lost for a century was again "recovered" in the course of my work, as the ink that Rizal brushed over to erase whole pages of his unwanted text had faded, making it possible, with some effort of course, to read and recover almost everything that Rizal threw out a hundred years ago due to financial constraints. One must remember that Rizal envisioned *El Filibusterismo* to be double the length of *Noli me tangere*, but was forced to publish a more modest work.

More than a mere rechecking of the primary sources, new interpretations should also be drawn. The same document used by Retana in 1907, for example, can mean something different to Palma in 1938, or Guerrero in 1961, or to a scholar in 1996. Yet, there is a belief among writers and scholars that we cannot write anything original on Rizal anymore. Countering our amnesia with memory is the challenge of the 1996 Rizal Centennial.

Our problem is that we now have two Rizals in our consciousness, one is a historical Rizal and the other a mythical one, and it is the latter that dominates the popular consciousness. Rizal reflects the way we think as a people. And, seeing how he has been presented and re-presented, used and abused, or interpreted and misinterpreted, is a symptom of our obsessive search for an elusive national identity. Rizal is a central figure in the development of Philippine nationalism and yet, paradoxically, remains the greatest obstacle to its fulfillment.

After his execution, Rizal has been used and abused more effectively to serve the needs of an emerging nation and sense of nationalism. Like the Katipunan, the revolutionary government under Emilio Aguinaldo invoked Rizal, now a martyr to the revolutionary cause, in patriotic speeches, many of which are still extant in flyers and revolutionary newspapers. Rizal's name was used as an inspiration in the trenches both in the revolution against Spain and the subsequent war against the United States of America. Quotations from Rizal were often in the revolutionary press, and in 1898 special Rizal issues were published to commemorate Rizal Day.

Constantly invoked in exhortation, Rizal became an official national hero when Aguinaldo declared December 30, 1898 a day of national mourning, the first Rizal Day, starting a commemoration which has been maintained to the present. The capture of Aguinaldo by the Americans in 1901 and the full establishment of an American colonial government over the Philippines, however, did not diminish Rizal's luster because the Americans encouraged the Rizal cult, but for different reasons. Reverence for the Rizal cult was built upon and reversed. Whereas Rizal was used previously as an inspiration for the Philippine Revolution, the Americans tried to use Rizal to pacify the Filipinos still thinking of independence.

Emphasis was laid on Rizal's anti-clericalism, non-violent stance, his advocacy of universal education and peaceful reform. Using one of Rizal's political essays, *The Philippines Within a Century*, some interpreters and readers made him foresee the American presence in the archipelago. Furthermore, it was implied that had he been alive, Rizal would have approved of the programs of the American occupation.

Rizal was utilized by the Americans in an effort to suppress Philippine nationalism; but for the generation that had gone through the revolution, Rizal was still regarded as an icon that reminded them of the struggle for independence from Spain, and hence, by extension an inspiration for independence from the United States of America. The irony here is that while the Americans used Rizal for one end, many Filipinos took him for something else.

Despite the constantly changing, and sometimes conflicting images of Rizal, he remains a constant in Filipino consciousness. What does the choice of Rizal as national hero say about the Philippine state and Filipinos in general? Rizal is a reflection of the Filipinos' continuing search for a national identity.

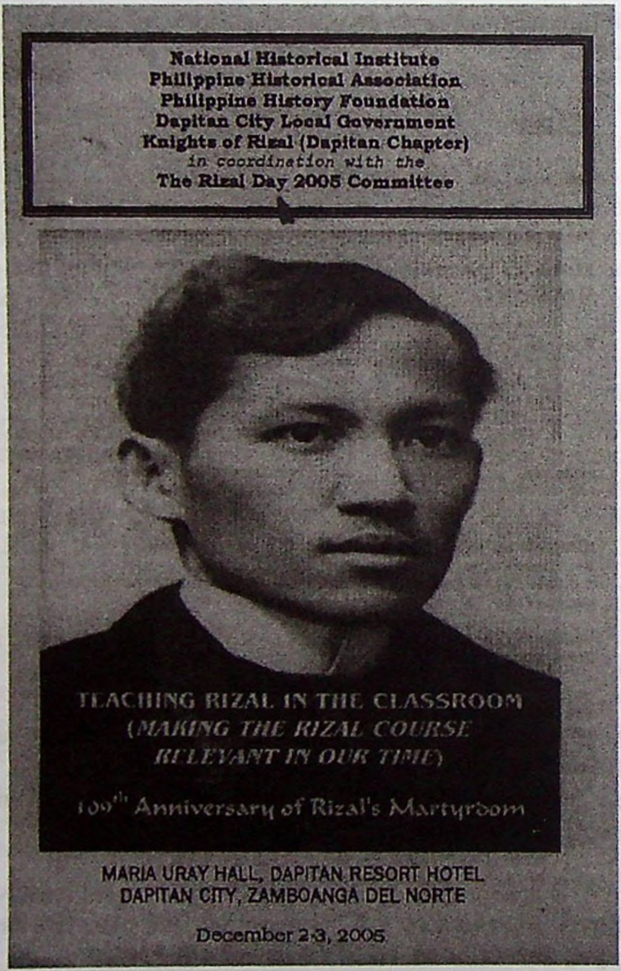
The contours of the hagiography and historiography of Rizal illustrate that the narrative actually goes beyond the factual. There is more in Rizal than mere 'recorded history" --- Rizal points to meaning. History and myth fuse in the case of Rizal and is used to express a certain ideology. The creation of a shared history, which Rizal attempted in his "Annotations" of Morga, was vital in creating a sense of national identity. It is in this context that history can be dangerous or subversive, as Rizal proved in his seemingly innocent academic work on Morga, because he pointed out very clearly that men with knowledge of their past and present can chart the course of their future. In a colonial setting, such an idea was tantamount to treason.

However, the century-old historiography of Rizal also shows how history can be manipulated by an elite, and by focusing on particular heroes and casting value judgments, they try to make individuals like Rizal represent a particular period, region or ethno-linguistic group. The end result is a creation of a feeling of "oneness," a national identity, by keeping the community united against "the outside." By making the community imagine itself as a nation, it is assumed that society can be free from internal conflict and fragmentation. Specific values and feelings are preserved by the status quo. Rizal has been universalized with complete disregard for particularities of time and place.

National identity is organized within a plot which has clearly defined heroes and villains. This is one explanation for the enduring presence of Rizal. A survey of the men venerated as heroes (very few women have as yet been recognized as heroines) will show that only Rizal falls conveniently into the framework of national history, with a happy ending that gives Filipinos the reassurance of the predestined or ordered nature of the world. In the end, we can see Rizal not so much as the hero but as the values of the nation that venerates him. The Rizal myth, broken down to its components, can also be seen as a defense of the status quo, something to shield the society, the institution and its values. Rizal is used to sustain an idealized form of social, political, and even religious consciousness, with little or no relation to reality. So, by dissecting Rizal the myth, and by juxtaposing this against the real historical Rizal, one attains a glimpse of this "imagined" national identity.

We create Rizal in our own image and likeness using both memory and amnesia to suit our ruffled conscience. How we will see Rizal in the coming century will be a clear expression of how we see ourselves. Rizal both in life and in death showed the Filipino people a capacity for greatness. Only when we share this view can we fully understand Rizal and consequently ourselves.

Rizal's century old challenge is for us to see ourselves as Filipinos, members of a Filipino nation. We have not attained this yet, but at least with Rizal, we are headed in the right direction.



National Historical Institute
Philippine Historical Association
Philippine History Foundation
Dapitan City Local Government
Knights of Rizal (Dapitan Chapter)
in coordination with the
The Rizal Day 2005 Committee

TEACHING RIZAL IN THE CLASSROOM
(*MAKING THE RIZAL COURSE RELEVANT IN OUR TIME*)

109th Anniversary of Rizal's Martyrdom

MARIA URAY HALL, DAPITAN RESORT HOTEL
DAPITAN CITY, ZAMBOANGA DEL NORTE

December 2-3, 2005

FROM CALAMBA TO BAGUMBAYAN: The Development of Rizal's Nationalism

Celestina Boncan

The purpose of the lecture is to show the historical development of Rizal's nationalism which in the end made him the greatest hero and martyr of our people. This would entail a survey of the significant periods in his life. Instead of tackling this topic as an off-hand biography, I would like to use, I should day, play around, with the analytical device made familiar by the historian Arnold Toynbee which is called challenge and response.

The lecture starts with the premise that the period of Rizal's life from 1861 to 1887 constituted the challenges that he faced. It was his response in the consequent period from 1888 to 1896 that has earned for him the distinction as a nationalist and for which he has become the country's national hero.

KEYWORDS: Nation * Nationalism * Nationalist * Patriotism * Education * Martyrdom * La Liga Filipina

Nation, Nationality, Nationalism

First, let us start with definition of terms. A nation is an aggregation of people inhabiting a special territory and sharing common customs, origins, beliefs, history and language. Nationalism is an attitude, a feeling of belief characterized by a sense of loyalty and devotion to the nation, the exaltation of the nation above all others or the promotion of the culture and interests of the nation. A nationalist is a person who professes nationalism in his words and deeds.

Rizal's Challenges

The years from 1861 to 1887, from his birth until his return from his studies abroad, presented Rizal with three challenges.

1861-1872: Childhood in Calamba

The first was the development of patriotism. As a young boy growing up in Calamba, nestled at the foothills of the beautiful Mt. Makiling, and its shores washed by the refreshing waters of Laguna de Bay, Rizal developed an intense love of country which even many years of travel to the most beautiful cities of Europe did not dissolve. Eventually, Rizal returned to *Filipinas*, his *patria adorada*.

1872-1882: Education in Manila

The second was the importance of education. As a young student at the Ateneo de Manila, Rizal learned one inevitable ingredient in making a country, any country for that matter, strong and progressive --- education. Even as a young student then, Rizal already fathomed that it is ignorance that made the Filipinos poor and backward --- he later emphasized this in one of his essays.

1882-1887: Travel to Europe

The third was the need for reforms. As a young man pursuing medical studies in Madrid, Rizal became exposed to the liberalism that was engulfing Europe at the time. This liberalism made it possible for Europe to advance in the fields of science, the humanities and the arts. In his speech honoring Juan Luna and Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo, Rizal beckoned Spain to allow the light of progress to shine as well in the Philippines by introducing much needed reforms.

Rizal's Responses

1887-1891: Intensive Political Writing

From 1887-1891 Rizal devoted himself to intensive political writing, starting with the *Noli Me Tangere*. In the *Noli*, Rizal described what has become of the Philippines as a result of Spanish rule. He likened its conditions to a malignant affliction, a cancer, which at the least contact irritates it and causes the most acute pain. In the *El Filibusterismo*, the sequel of the *Noli*, Rizal philosophized on the merits of a revolution to free the Philippines from Spanish colonial bondage. In the many essays that he wrote for the la Solidaridad, Rizal repeatedly hammered on the idea of granting the Philippines representation in the Spanish Parliament and civil and political rights for the Filipinos.

1892: Establishment of the La Liga Filipina

In 1892 Rizal organized the La Liga Filipina as the instrument to unify, to educate and to advance the material progress of the people without which freedom would be useless.

1892-1896: Exile in Dapitan

From 1892 to 1896 Rizal became the epitome of social responsibility. He made each day of his exile in Dapitan an opportunity to show nationalism in the most practical ways --- opening a school to teach science, mathematics and English to the young boys of Dapitan, building a dam to provide potable water to the town residents, establishing a clinic to treat the sick --- being of service to his fellow Filipinos.

1896: Martyrdom

On December 10, 1896 Rizal made the ultimate response --- martyrdom. He died a martyr, a man of conviction to his political ideals.

Rizal's Nationalism

Jose Rizal was a true nationalist. He placed the welfare of his country and people first and foremost. His struggle was to awaken the aspiration for liberty and freedom of the people of his time. He did this even to the extent of foregoing a life of wealth and ease in a foreign land. In the end, he faced death, the final consequence of his struggle to expose the social cancer that had caused the physical, spiritual, moral and intellectual stagnation of the Filipino people.

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RIZAL'S POEMS: Insights on Education, Nature and Love of Country

Estrellita Muhi

Republic Act No. 1425 was enacted on June 12, 1956. This is an act to include in the curricula of all private and public schools, colleges and universities a course on the life, works and writings of Jose Rizal. The law says that there is a need for a rededication to the ideals of freedom and nationalism for which our heroes lived and died for.

Rizal's works and writings continue to be a source of pride and patriotism, therefore, the minds of our youth, especially in their formative and decisive years, should be taught these ideals and values that he lived and died for. The teacher is, therefore, responsible in the attainment of this endeavor. We must remember that his poems provide us an insight of who Rizal was as a person and what he dreamt of for his country. He wrote poems on education, on nature, and on love of country.

KEYWORDS: Sa Aking Mga Kabata * Memories of My Town* The Importance of Education * To the Filipino Youth * To the Flowers of Heidelberg * Hymn to Labor * My Last Farewell

The teacher of the Rizal Course has a great responsibility. He or she should have read all his poems in advance and must have read these several times to get the proper bearing and confidence when he faces his students in the classroom. Remember that the teacher is not there to criticize the poems based on the cannons of the art but that he is there primarily to inspire his students regarding Rizal's values and ideals regarding love of country.

Secondly, select the poems that will be included in the course. You will notice the evolution of his ideas. Therefore, it should be best presented that way.

Rizal's poetic acumen was revealed when he was only 8 years old. He wrote "Sa Aking Mga Kabata."

If truly a people dearly love
The tongue to them by heaven sent
They will surely yearn for freedom
Like a bird in a firmament.
Because by its language one can judge
A town, a barrio and kingdom

And like any other created thing
Every human being loves freedom
One who does not love his native tongue
Is worse than putrid fish and a beast
And like a truly precious thing
Is therefore deserved to be cherished

The Tagalong language is akin to Latin
To English, Spanish, angelical tongue
For God who knows how to look after us
This language he bestowed upon us
As others, our language is the same
With alphabet and letters of its own
It was lost because a storm did destroy
On the lake the Bangka in years begone

In this poem, Rizal realized the importance of having a native tongue, the existence of which is synonymous to freedom. The poem should be shown to the students in its entirety. Before hand, guide questions should be provided to the students so that they will know what to look for. The message of this poem should surface.

Guide questions shall then be asked like --- 1) To what did Rizal compare a person who is free? 2) Why should one love his native tongue? 3) To what languages was Tagalog compared to and why?

At age 15, Rizal wrote "Un recuerdo a mi pueblo" (Memories of My Town).

When I recall the days
That my boyhood saw
By the green banks
Of a murmuring lagoon

I recall, suddenly recall
Your countenance
Infancy precious
That loving mother
Oh! Succeeded in embellishing

I recall a simple town
My contentment, happiness and cradle
By the fresh lagoon
Seat of my love
The Creator I saw in the grandeur
Of your secular forests
Sorrows of your bosom
Never did I know

Tender childhood, beautiful town
Rich fountain of happiness
Of harmonious melodies
That banish sorrows!

Return to my heart
Return my gentle hours
Return as the birds return
When the flowers are in bloom

But alas! Adieu! Eternally keep vigil
Over your peace, joy and repose
Genie of goodness who kindly
His gifts presents with love

For you my fervent wishes
To learn and to heaven I pray
That you your candor keep

Rizal's memories of Calamba demonstrate his love of nature that ultimately developed into a greater love of country. He wrote this while he was at the Ateneo. He would feel nostalgic that made him long for his hometown.

Again guide questions shall then be asked --- 1) Enumerate the beautiful things that Rizal longed for in Calamba? 2) What did he wish for Calamba? 3) What did he offer to show his love for Calamba?

Still at Ateneo, Rizal wrote the poem "The Importance of Education."

That goddess of garnered ages that sows
For flowers of virtue perennial seeds

As upward dispensing her light she goes
Hand fast the fatherland, too, she leads
The breath of her quickening
Summons she blows
Like winds that bear life to the blossomless meads
And wisdom along her pathway uprisings
And hope is revived in new bourgeonings

Wherever her gleaming white throne may arise
There with bared brow from the glance of her eyes
Larger and luminous made with Truth
Vice before her cowering lies
Pallied and hurtles, with Crime the uncouth
For she has a magic all potent to make
Wild nations tamest for her sweet sake

Where misery sits in its darkness and need
Behold her lightning the living flame
She fetters the filching fingers of greed
Gives joy for sorrow and honor for shame
Who takes to his heart her uttermost creed
Makes nobler his life and loftier his aim
And hers is the cool and desterous art

That heals the old hurts in the generous heart
The lighthouse stands on the eternal rock
By the storm-harried seas oft beaten and battered
The hurricane bellows, the mad waves shock
On its stirless walls they rise and are shattered
Till ocean drives back his orderly flock
By their futile assailings affrighted and scattered
So with this goddess it is, whose light
Cannot dim through the stormiest night

Rizal compared education to the goddess of light, wisdom, hope, peace and truth. He likewise compared education to a lighthouse.

Suggested study guides may be the following --- 1) In what way is education likened to a goddess? a lighthouse? 2) Do you think Rizal's simile is appropriate? 3) Show the relationships of education and virtue.

While he was at the University of Santo Tomas in 1879, Rizal presented his poem "A la juventud filipina" (To the Filipino Youth) on the occasion of a literary contest held by the Liceo Artistico-Literario where a special award was to be given to a native or *mestizo* who can submit the best work.

Lift up your radiant brow
This day, Youth of my native strand!
Your abounding talent show
Resplendently and grand
Fair hope of my motherland

Soar high, oh genius great
And with noble thoughts fill their mind
The honor's glorious seat
May their virgin mind fly and find
More rapidly than the wind

Descend with pleasing light
Of the arts and sciences to the plain
Oh Youth, and break forthright
The links of the heavy chain
That your poetic genius enchain

See that in the ardent zone
The Spaniard, where shadows stand
Doth offer a shining crown
With wise and merciful hand
To the son of this Indian land

You who heavenward rise
On wings of your rich fantasy
Seek in the Olympian skies
The tenderest poesy
More sweet than divine honey

You of heavenly harmony
On a calm unperturbed night
Philomel's match in melody,
That in varied symphony
Dissipate man's sorrow's blight;

You, at the impulse of your mind
The hard rock animate
And your mind with the great pow'r consigned
Transforms into immortal state

The pure mem'ry of genius great;
And you, who with magic brush
On canvas plain capture
The varied charm of Phoebus,
Loved by the divine Apelles
And the mantle of Nature;

Run! For genius' sacred flame
Awaits the artist's crowning
Spreading far and wide the fame
Throughout the sphere proclaiming
With trumpet the mortal's name.

Oh, joyful, joyful day,
For you, far Philippines!
The Almighty blessed be
Who, with loving eagerness
Sends you luck and happiness.

Rizal took part in the contest and submitted this poem. Always willing to vindicate his people, Rizal called upon the youth to study diligently and fast and excel in the field of arts and sciences.

Study guides could consist of the following questions --- 1) Who was Apelles? Phoebus? Philomel? 2) Enumerate the fields in the arts that Rizal wanted the youth to excel. Why? 3) Write down the words to show that Rizal exhorted the young men to develop and show their talents hurriedly. 4) Rizal won in the contest. Explain its significance.

"A las flores del Heidelberg" (To the Flowers of Heidelberg) was written on April 22, 1886 in Germany.

Go to my country, go, O foreign
flowers, sown by the traveler
along the road, and under that
blue heaven that watches over
my loved ones, recount the
devotion the pilgrim nurses
for his native soil!

Go and say ... say that when dawn
opened your chalices for the first time
beside the icy Neckar
you saw him silent beside you
thinking of her constant vernal clime

say that when dawn which steals
your aroma was whispering
playful love songs to your young
sweet petals, he, too, murmured
canticles of love in his native tongue;

that in the morning when
the sun first traces the topmost
peak of Koenigsthul in the gold
and with a wild warmth raises
to life again the valley, the glade,
the forest, he hails that sun, still
in its dawning, that in his country
in full zenith blazes.

And tell of that day when he
collected you along the way
among the ruins of a feudal
castle, on the banks of the
Neckar, or in a forest nook.
recount the words he said
as, with great care, between the
pages of a worn-out book he
pressed the flexible petals that he took.

Carry, carry, o flowers
my love to my loved ones,
peace to my country and its
fecund loam, faith to its men and
virtue to its women, health to the
gracious beings that dwell within
the sacred paternal home

When you reach that shore,
deposit the kiss I gave you
on the wings of the wind above
that with the wind it may rove
and I may kiss all that I worship,
honor and love!

But o you will arrive there,
flowers, and you will keep
perhaps your vivid hues;
but far from your native heroic
earth to which you owe your life
and worth, your fragrances
you will lose!
For fragrance is a spirit that
never can forsake
and never forgets the sky that
saw its birth.

Rizal stayed in Germany for about three months. During this time, he found a new friend in the person of a minister with whom he took many an afternoon walk. Rizal was inspired by the flowers strewn along the banks of the river so he wrote this poem.

Study guides could be the following --- 1) Using a world map, look for Germany. If possible, locate the Rhine and Neckar Rivers. 2) Get a passage in the poem that reveals Rizal's feeling of homesickness. 3) State briefly what Rizal wanted the flowers to do for his country. 4) Pick out the lines which express Rizal's love of country.

"Himno al trabajo" (Hymn to Labor) was another poem of Rizal where he shows the dignity of labor and industry.

For the Motherland in war,
For the Motherland in peace,
Will the Filipino keep watch,
He will live until life cease!
(chorus)

Men:
Now the east is glowing with light
Go! To the field to till the land,
For the labour of man sustains

Fam'ly, Home and motherland.
Hard the land may turn to be,
Scorching the rays of the sun above,
For the country, wife and children
All will be easy to our love.

Wives:
Go to work with spirits high,
For the wife keeps home faithfully,
Inculcates love in her children
For virtue, knowledge and country.
When the evening brings repose,
On returning joy awaits you
And if fate is adverse, the wife
Shall know the task to continue.

Maidens:
Hail! Hail! Praise to labour,
Of the country wealth and vigor!
For its brow serenne's exalted,
It's her blood, life and ardor.
If some youth would show his
Love labor his faith will sustain:
Only a man who struggles and

Works will his offspring know to maintain.

Children:
Teach us ye the laborious work
To pursue your footsteps we wish,
For tomorrow when country calls us,
We may be able your task to finish
And on seeing us the elders will say:
Look, they're worthy 'f their sires of yore!
Incense does not honor the dead
As does a son with glory and valor

Rizal wrote this poem to commemorate the elevation of Lipa from a town to a city, a testimony to the industriousness of the people of Lipa.

A study guide should also be provided --- 1) Rizal realizes that some Filipinos are generally indolent. What are the two obstacles that Filipinos must surmount? 2) Why should men work? 3) Cite the responsibilities of women and children. 4) What is Rizal's message to women?

"Mi ultimo adios" (My Last Farewell) was written while Rizal was in his cell in Fort Santiago a few days before his execution.

The poem is Rizal's greatest contribution to world literature. This is his last and most sublime literary expression of his love and devotion to his country.

Farewell, dear Fatherland, clime of the sun caress'd
Pearl of the Orient seas, our Eden lost!
Gladly now I go to give thee this faded life's best,
And were it brighter, fresher, or more blest,
Still would I give it thee, nor count the cost.

On the field of battle, 'mid the frenzy of fight,
Others have given their lives, without doubt or heed;
The place matters not --- cypress or laurel or lily white;
Scaffold or open plain, combat or martyrdom's plight,
'Tis ever the same, to serve home and country's need

I die just when I see the dawn break,
Through the gloom of night, to herald the day;
And if color is lacking my blood thou shalt take,
Pour'd out at need for thy dear sake,
To dye with its crimson the waking ray.

My dreams, when life first opened to me,
My dreams, when the hopes of youth beat high
Were to see thy lov'd face, o gem of the Orient sea
From gloom and grief, from care and sorrow free;
No blush on thy brow, no tear in thine eye.

Dream of my life, my living and burning desire,
All hail! Cries the soul that is now to take flight;
All hail! And sweet it is for thee to expire;
To die for thy sake, that thou mayst aspire;
And sleep in thy bosom eternity's long night

If over my grave some day thou seest grow,
In the grassy sod, a humble flower,
Draw it to thy lips and kiss my soul so,
While I may feel on my brow in the cold tomb below
The touch of thy tenderness, thy breath's warm power.

Let the moon beam over me soft and serene,
Let the dawn shed over me its radiant flashes,
Let the wind with sad lament over me keen;
And if on my cross a bird should be seen,
Let it thrill there its hymn of peace to my ashes.

Let the sun draw the vapor up to the sky,
And heavenward in purity hear my tardy protest
Let some kind soul o'er my untimely fate sigh.

And in the still evening a prayer be lifted on high
From thee, O my country, that in God I may rest.

Pray for all those hapless have died,
For all who have suffered the unmeasur'd pain;
For our mothers that bitterly their woes have cried;
For widows and orphans, for captives by torture tried;
And then for thyself that redemption thou mayst gain.

And when the dark wraps the graveyard around,
With only the dead in their vigil to see;
Break not my repose or the mystery profound,
And perchance thou mayst hear a sad hymn resound;
'Tis I, O my country, raising a song unto thee.

When even my grave is remembered no more,
Unmark'd by either a cross or a stone;
Let the plow sweep through it, the spade turn it o'er,
That my ashes may carpet thy earthly floor,
Before into nothingness at last they are blown.

Then will oblivion bring to me no care,
As over thy vales and plains I sweep;
Throbbing and cleansed in thy space and air,
With color and light, with song and lament I fare
Ever repeating the faith that I keep.

My Fatherland ador'd that sadness to my sorrow lends,
Beloved Filipinas, hear now my last good-by!
I give thee all: parents and kindred and friends;
For I go where no slave before the oppressor bends,
Where faith can never kill, and God reigns e'er on high!

Farewell to you all, from soul torn away,
Friends of my childhood in the home dispossess'd!
Give thanks that I rest from the wearisome day!
Farewell to thee, too, sweet friend that lightn'd my way;
Beloved creatures all, farewell! In death there is rest!

Study guide questions are the following --- 1) Rizal wrote this poem for four reasons: a) as a farewell b) as a last will and testament c) an appeal to Filipinos to remember him, and d) as an autobiography. Read the lines to show each. 2) What are the names that Rizal gave to refer to the Philippines? 3) For whom should his countrymen pray? Has this been done from the time of Rizal's death until the present? 4) Is it possible that after his death he might still raise a song for his country? 5) How did Rizal show his love of country in this poem?

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DECIPHERING RIZAL'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:

The Essays of Rizal 1889-1890

Celestina Boncan

Rizal wrote many essays for the *La Solidaridad* between 1889 and 1890. Those that he wrote in 1889 included the following: Message to the Young Women of Malolos, Filipino Farmers, To *La Defensa,* How to Deceive the Native Land, The Truth for All, Profanation, New Truths, Cruelty, Differences, and To Our Dear Mother Country.

In the following year, Rizal continued to write more essays which included the following: The Philippines a Century Hence, To La Patria, Inconsequences, Tears and Laughter, Ingratitude, Nameless, The Philippines at the Spanish Congress, Let Us Be Just, Philippine Affairs, More on the Negros Affair, Hope, The Indolence of the Filipinos, Cowardly Revenge, and How the Philippines is Governed.

This article focuses on just two of Rizal's essays which are considered the most meaningful, if not the most substantial, in manifesting Rizal's political philosophy.

KEYWORDS: La Solidaridad * Political Philosophy * Sobre la indolencia de los Filipinos * Filipinas dentro de cien anos

Sobre la indolencia de Filipinos

The essay is divided into several parts.

In Part 1 Rizal argues that pre-Spanish Filipinos were not indolent.

In Part 2 Rizal lists down the factors that brought about the decline in the spirit of enterprise of Filipinos. These consist of impediments and obstacles to agriculture, continuous wars to maintain the honor of Spain or to extend her dominion, continued labor in the shipyards.

In Part 3 Rizal lists down the counter effects of Spanish policy in the Philippines. These are depopulation, capture and slavery, neglect of industry, agriculture and commerce, disappearance of the coastwise trade, disappearance of fine native manufactured products, death and suffering to those who refused to work for the Spaniards, loss of a profitable market for Philippine products, lowering of human dignity and death of self-respect.

In Part 4 Rizal enumerates the contributing and aggravating factors for the decline in the spirit of enterprise of the Filipinos. He names these to be the belief in miracles and religion to solve everyday problems, apathy of government towards commerce and agriculture, teachings that the rich man will not go to heaven , numerous impositions of the Church, corrupt *alcaldes mayores*, attitude of the Spaniards of despising physical or manual labor.

Filipinas dentro de cien anos

In this essay, Rizal put forward the proposition that the Philippines had become a colonial problem to Spain. He attributes this to the fact that there existed in the nineteenth century a factor that did not exist in the previous centuries. This was the awakening of the national spirit founded on the realization of a common misfortune that has united the people.

And because of the emergence of this factor, Spain cannot continue blocking the progress of the Philippines through the brutalization of the masses, the impoverishment of the country, the gradual destruction of the inhabitants and the fostering of enmity among the people. He says that Spain has no other recourse but to implement right of representation and freedom of the press which are especially needed in a government that rules from afar.

Rizal dares to venture into the future of the Philippines under Spain in a scenario where she does not adopt a more liberal and generous policy. One is the transformation of the country which can either be violent and fatal, if led by the masses, or peaceful and beneficial, if led by the elite. The other is the separation of the Philippines from Spain since there is no such enduring rule of one people over another who belongs to different races with distinct customs and usages. One of the two has to yield or to succumb.

Rizal's Political Philosophy

In *Filipinas dentro de cien anos* Rizal focused on the common destiny of the Filipino people to be free. In *Sobre la indolencia de Filipinos* Rizal focused on the tragedy of Filipinos as a people whose progress had been frustrated by a foreign and abusive power. In the two essays Rizal succeeded in laying the foundation of a Filipino national identity bound by a common heritage, a common tragedy and a common destiny.

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RIZAL'S NOVELS: Political Satire of 19th Century Philippine Society

Estrellita Muhi

Rizal's Noli Me Tangere and El Filibusterismo are more meaningfully studied as political satires for his reform propaganda. None of Rizal's writings has had a more tremendous effect on the Filipino people than his two novels that courageously criticized Philippine life in the 19th century. And though Rizal aimed his message to the people of his generation, the novels remain the most potent inspiration for national unity today. Every Filipino must read these novels and with the help of the teacher, the novels provide an inexhaustible source of inspiration for solutions to current conditions and problems.

To understand fully Rizal's purpose in writing these novels, the student must read the complete version and not just the synopsis, as per Republic Act No. 1425. The teacher should guide the students to realize Rizal's blueprint for nation-building. These are racial pride, education, desirable values and attitudes, and the willingness to sacrifice.

KEYWORDS: Noli Me Tangere * El Filibusterismo * Satire * 19th Century Philippine Society

The *Noli Me Tangere* and the *El Filibusterismo* had the more tremendous effects on the Filipino people and the Spaniards as well than all the writings during the Propaganda Movement. These two novels boldly exposed and criticized Philippine political, social, and cultural life during the 19th century.

Wenceslao Retana, a biographer of Rizal, called the novels the "New Gospels" and the "New Bibles" of nationalism. Ferdinand Blumentritt considered the *Noli* as the greatest literary work ever written by a Filipino … "a work written with the heart's blood of a patriot."

Rizal wrote the novels for the purpose of redeeming his people from their miserable conditions. He had two objectives in mind: to expose the social malady affecting his country and to awaken and to develop the national consciousness of the people.

The foreword of the *Noli* reads as follows:

> *To My Motherland*
>
> *Recorded in the history of human sufferings is a cancer so malignant in character that the least touch irritates it and awakens in it the sharpest pains. Thus, how many times, when in the midst of modern civilization I have wished to call thee before me, now to accompany in memories, now to compare thee with other countries, hath thy dear image presented itself showing a social cancer ....*
>
> *Desiring thy welfare which is our own and seeking the best treatment, I will do with thee what the ancients did with their sick, exposing them on the steps of the temple so that everyone who came to invoke the Almighty might offer them a remedy.*

> *And to this end, I will strive to reproduce thy condition faithfully without discriminations, I will raise a part of the veil that covers the evil, sacrificing to truth everything, even vanity itself, since as thy son, I am conscious that I also suffer from thy defects and weaknesses.*

In the *Fili*, the dedication shows the purpose:

> *To the memory of the priests, Don Mariano Gomez (85 years old), Don Jose Burgos (30 years old), and Don Jacinto Zamora (35 years old) executed in Bagumbayan Field on the 17th of February 1872.*
>
> *The Church by refusing to degrade you has placed in doubt the crime that has been imputed to you; the Government, by surrounding your trials with mystery and shadows, causes the belief that there were errors committed in fatal moments, and all the Philippines, by worshiping your memory and calling you martyrs, in no sense recognizes your culpability. In so far therefore, as you complicity in the Cavite Mutiny is not clearly proven, as you may or may not have been patriots and as you may or may not have cherished sentiments for justice and for liberty, I have the right to dedicate my work to you as victims of the evil which I undertake to combat, and while we await expectantly upon Spain someday to restore your good name and cease to be answerable for your death, let these pages serve as a tardy wreath of dried leaves over your unknown tombs, and let it be understood that everyone who without clear proofs attacks your memory stains his hands in your blood.*

To facilitate the teaching of the messages of Rizal as expressed in the novels, I suggest that we determine Rizal's blueprint of nation-building as consistently cited in all his works and writings.

Importance of Education

The importance of education is clearly acknowledged in the novels. During the laying of the cornerstone of Ibarra's school, the Governor General declares:

> "Residents of San Diego, we have the honor to preside over a ceremony whose importance you will understand without telling you. This is the foundation of a school and the foundation of society, the book on which is written the future of nations."

Ibarra also stressed the contribution of education to the country. He says:

> "I want my country's good that is why I am building the school house, through education there is progress, we cannot find our way without the light of knowledge."

In the chapter "Idyll in an Azotea," Ibarra reminded Maria Clara about why he was finally convinced by his father, Don Rafael, to leave for Europe to study:

> "My father wants me to leave …. He told me …. You are a man and you should give thought to the future and your duties. Learn the science of life, what your father cannot give you in order one day to become useful. If you stay by my side, under my shadow, in this atmosphere of worries, you will not learn to look farther, and on the day I will no longer be around, you will find yourself …. grown in the water, its leaves

> when not watered wither after a moment's exposure to heat. Do you see?

Again, in the chapter "The Comments," Capitana Maria told the other women:

> "If I were rich like you, I would allow my sons to study and travel. They are young and one day they will grow into manhood …. Our sons should aspire to become more than their fathers and in our bosoms we only teach them to be children."

Likewise, the *El Filibusterismo* contains many more messages to show the importance of education. Basilio, in the chapter "Simoun" says:

> "The most civilized nations are tending toward education. Science is more eternal, it is more human, it is more universal."

In the chapter "The Friar and the Filipino," Isagani in his conversation with Father Fernandez says:

> "Besides the duty of every one to seek his own perfection, there is the desire innate in man to cultivate his intellect, a desire the more powerful here in that it is repressed. It betters the young plant, morally and physically, of training it toward its happiness, of creating a people honest, prosperous, intelligent, virtuous, noble and loyal …. Liberty is to man what education is to the intelligence."

In his conversation with Senor Pasta, Isagani says:

> "… that even if the sole wish of the Spaniards is to make the country a country of farmers and laborers, I do not see any evil in enlightening

> these same farmers and laborers in giving them at least an education that will aid them in perfecting themselves and in perfecting their work and in placing them in a condition to understand many things of which they are at present ignorant."

Willingness to Sacrifice

The novels also contain messages that pertain to the willingness to sacrifice as a necessary component in nation-building. Near the end of the *Noli*, when Ibarra invited Elias to leave the country, the latter who had accepted the reality of the disunity and misfortunes of the people says:

> "Impossible! It is true that I cannot live or be happy in my country but I can suffer and die in it and perhaps, for it, and that is always something. Let the misfortunes of my country be my own, and since our people are not all united by a noble ideal, since our hearts do not beat …. At least our common unhappiness may unite me with them. I shall weep with them over our sorrows, and let the same misfortunes oppress all our hearts."

Likewise, Don Rafael also displays selflessness when he tried to convince Crisostomo to leave the country and says:

> "Do you think that you are the only one who knows how to love? That your father does not love you nor feel keenly a separation from you? Only lately we lost your mother. I journey towards old age, to that stage in which one seeks the comfort and support of youth, yet I accept my solitude, I do not know if I will see you again. But I must think of other greater things."

Isagani admonishes Senor Pasta and says:

> "When I have gray hairs like those, sir, and turn my gaze back over my past and see that I have worked only for myself, without having done what I plainly could and should have done for the country that has given me everything, for the citizens that have helped me to live, then, sir, every hair will be a thorn, and instead of rejoicing, they will shame me."

Reorientation of Values and Attitudes

Padre Florentino says:

> "Our ills we owe to ourselves alone. So let us blame no one. If Spain should see that we are less complacent with tyranny and more disposed to struggle and suffer for our rights, Spain would be the first to grant us liberty because when the fruit of the womb reaches maturity, woe unto the mother who would stifle it. So, while the Filipino people has no sufficient energy to proclaim, with head erect and bosom bared, its rights to social life, and to guarantee it with sacrifices with its own blood, while we see our countrymen in private life ashamed within themselves, hear the voice of conscience, roar in rebellion and protest, yet in private life keep silent or even echo the words of him who abuses them in order to mock the abused, while we see them wrap themselves up in their egotism, begging with their eyes a portion of the booty, why grant them liberty? Why independence, if the slaves today will be the tyrants tomorrow .... For he who submits to tyranny loves it. Senor Simoun, when our people is unprepared, when it enters a fight through fraud and force, without a clear understanding of what it is doing, the

> wisest attempts will fail and better fail, because since why commit the woman to a man if he does not sufficiently love her."

Padre Florentino, in the chapter "Conclusion" said it all. Nearing the end, Simoun expressed all his regrets and bitterness about what happened to him and to his plans. Padre Florentino went on to explain his formula for nation-building. He says:

> "I do not mean to say that our liberty will be secured at the sword's point for the sword plays but a little part in modern affairs, but we must secure it by making ourselves worthy of it, by exalting the intelligence and the dignity of the individual, by loving justice, right, and greatness, even to the extent of dying for them, and when a people reaches that height, God will provide a weapon, the idols will be shattered, the tyranny will crumble like a house of cards, and liberty will shine out like the first dawn."

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TEACHING RIZAL USING A MUSEUM
(Rizal Shrine Dapitan)

Gabriel Cad

Instructional Unit:
A Step Back in Time to Visit Rizal in Dapitan

Curriculum Unit:
Tertiary Level/Rizal Course

Objectives:
1) Students will describe events/issues leading to Rizal's exile in Dapitan;
2) Students will describe Rizal's life, works and writings in Dapitan;
3) Students will verbally describe a personal sense of value they treasure and how they feel Rizal upheld that value to help build our country.

Pre-Visit Activities:
1) Students will study life, works and writings of Rizal;
2) Lessons will focus on use of a time line to describe the social, political and economic events using various resources;
3) Teachers will assess content of information presented, physical facilities and
realistic time sequencing of activities

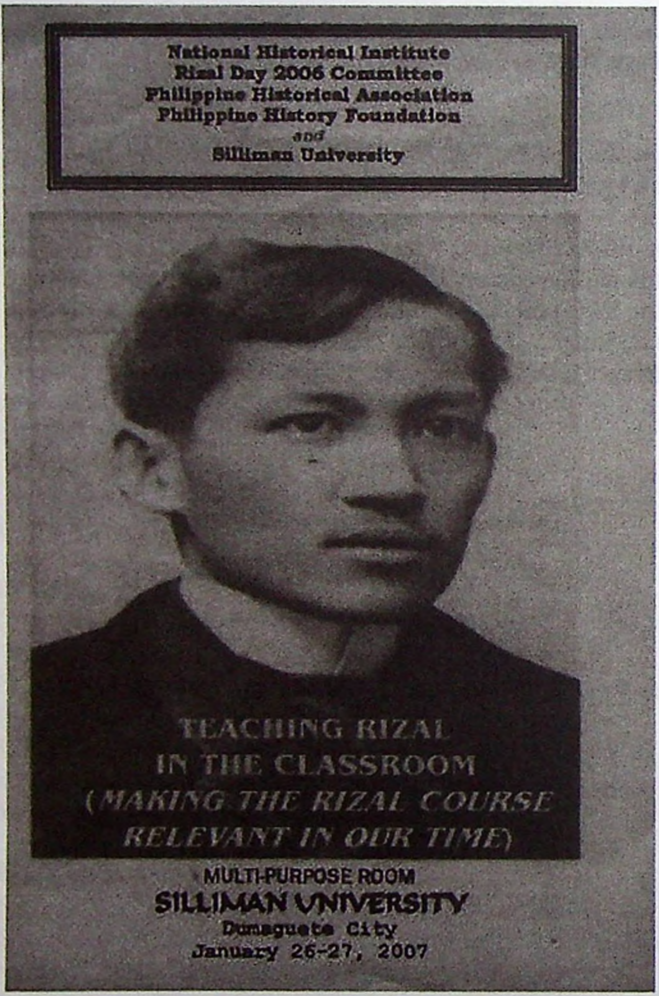
On-Site Activities:
1) Arrival --- Students meet the Shrine Curator or member of the Shrine Staff for a brief introduction describing the historical

value of the Shrine and other information about it

2) Museum --- Students begin a guided tour around the Shrine; afterwards they will be allowed to go around the Shrine on their own

3) Departure --- Students will gather at the Shrine Parking Area at a fixed time for departure and end of visit

Follow-up Activities:
Students and teachers will make their evaluation upon returning from the trip. Teachers will determine how effective the trip was in conveying new and difficult information. This will be done by measuring the outcome of student objectives previously stated.



National Historical Institute
Rizal Day 2006 Committee
Philippine Historical Association
Philippine History Foundation
and
Silliman University

TEACHING RIZAL
IN THE CLASSROOM
(*MAKING THE RIZAL COURSE*
RELEVANT IN OUR TIME)

MULTI-PURPOSE ROOM
SILLIMAN UNIVERSITY
Dumaguete City
January 26-27, 2007

RIZAL IN ATENEO AND UST: Education in Manila 1872-1882

Estrellita Muhi

Rizal's education in Ateneo and University of Santo Tomas are among the factors that helped shape his character and his person. The teacher should not stop when the story of his education is discussed. The teacher should help his students discern the significance of Rizal's early education.

At Ateneo, Rizal discovered the wisdom of books and its influences on his search for knowledge. He pursued history, philosophy, science and the imaginative world of poetry. At age 16, after five years of dedicated study, he stepped out of the halls of Ateneo into a world of intrigues and challenges that was to give him boundless opportunity to help the oppressed Filipinos.

At UST, he pursued philosophy and letters and medicine. While he did not enjoy academic freedom and his spirit dampened by prejudicial limitations, nonetheless Rizal did not seek to get even through violence. Instead, he sought equality through the mastery of mental skills.

KEYWORDS: Ateneo * Jesuits * University of Santo Tomas * Dominicans * Education

"Romans and Carthaginians"

After passing the entrance examination in Letran, Rizal was sent by his father to Ateneo Municipal de Manila. Here he developed a stimulating and competitive attitude. Here, the students were divided into two groups --- the Romans and the Carthaginians. The best scholar in each group was the emperor and the next ones were the tribune, etc. The two empires competed with each other. Each empire had banners, red for the Romans and blue for the other. These banners were raised at an equal height at the start of the school. Upon the first loss, the banner of the defeated empire was moved to the left. On the second defeat, the banner was returned to the right but placed below the other flag. Upon the third defeat, it was dipped and taken to the left. Upon the fourth defeat, the banner was reversed and returned to the right. Upon the fifth defeat, the reversed banner was moved to the left and upon the sixth defeat the banner was changed with a figure of a donkey.

At the start, Rizal was in the tail-end of the Carthaginians. In a month, he became the emperor. His grades were consistently excellent. He did not want the representation of a donkey. Though Rizal did not have a personal account on his fortunes in the classroom, his friend Ferdinand Blumentritt attests to the fact that "Rizal took special pleasure in challenging his Spanish classmates." He once told Blumentritt that only Spanish was used in school. While the Spanish students were taught in their mother tongue, the natives had to struggle with a foreign language in order to obtain education. Hence, the natives were mentally superior to the Spaniards. He observed that if the *indios* succeeded not only in keeping pace with the Spaniards, but even managed to surpass them. This was the first time that Rizal came into direct contact and competed with Spanish boys.

Interest in Books and Other Activities

Rizal read a great number of books besides his textbooks and other required readings. He read non-fiction as well. He read

"Travels in the Philippines" by Feodor Jagor, a German scientist, who visited the Philippines. Here, he noted two important observations made by Jagor. These were the defects of Spanish colonization and Jagor's prophecy that someday Spain would lose her colonies.

To the surprise of everyone, Rizal received excellent grades in all subjects and won a gold medal in his second year.

While at the Ateneo, Rizal produced two sculptural pieces. One was the figure of Our Lady and the other was the image of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. His academic excellence earned for him memberships of some exclusive societies.

His activities included membership in the Academy of Spanish Literature and the Academy of Natural Sciences and went on to develop his literary talents under the direction of the Jesuit priest, Fr. Sanchez. His decision to cultivate his literary talent resulted in an amazing variety of poems. His poems dealt on various subjects: education, religion, and childhood memories. Some of the poems are: "Mi primera inspiracion," "Alianza intima entre la religion y buena educacion," "Por la educacion recibe lustre la patria," "A la educacion," and "Un recuerdo a mi pueblo."

Rizal at the Ateneo: A Summary

Knowledge and Skills
--- Languages
--- Arithmetic
--- Philosophy
--- Sculpture
--- Poetry Writing

Attitudes and Values
--- Patience
--- Determination
--- Discipline
--- Competitiveness
--- Love for Books
--- Importance of Education
--- Capability to Learn

His school records at the Ateneo are as follows:

1872-1873

Arithmetic	Excellent
Latin I	Excellent
Spanish	Excellent
Greek I	Excellent

1873-1874

Latin 2	Excellent
Spanish 2	Excellent
Greek 2	Excellent
Universal Geography	Excellent

1874-1875

Latin 3	Excellent
Spanish 3	Excellent
Greek 3	Excellent
Universal History	Excellent
History of Spain and Philippines	Excellent
Arithmetic and Algebra	Excellent

1875-1876

Rhetoric and Poetry	Excellent
French 1	Excellent
Geometry and Trigonometry	Excellent

1876-1877

Philosophy 1	Excellent
Mineralogy and Chemistry	Excellent
Philosophy 2	Excellent
Physics	Excellent

Botany and Zoology	Excellent
1877	
Bachelor of Arts	Excellent

Rizal at UST

After finishing his bachelor's degree from the Ateneo, Rizal's intellectual pursuits took him to the University of Santo Tomas despite the opposition of his mother. But her objections were no match against the pleadings of his brother, Paciano. He enrolled courses in Philosophy and Letters. After completing the first year, he was advised to shift to the medical course. He finally decided to take up Medicine because of his desire to treat the failing eyesight of his mother.

While at the UST, he also studied Surveying and Agriculture in Ateneo. He was more loyal to Ateneo whose Jesuit teachers liked him and encouraged him to pursue higher learning.

In 1880, while Rizal was a medical student, he experienced his first taste of Spanish arrogance and brutality. While he was walking in a dark street, he was mauled and wounded by a civil guard because he failed to greet him good evening. The pain was more psychological than physical. He reported the incident to the Spanish Governor General Primo de Rivera. However, the complaint was shelved and nothing came out of it.

Activities

He manifested his literary talents while at UST. He joined a literary contest sponsored by the Liceo Artistico Literario de Manila. His entry was the poem "A la juventud filipina" and won the top prize in the form of a feather-shaped silver pen. The board of judges was made up of Spaniards and was impressed by the poem. The following year, the Liceo sponsored another contest celebrating the centennial of the death of Miguel de Cervantes. Again, Rizal won the first prize for his play "El Consejo de los Dioses." Rizal's two prizes had proven that an *Indio* could assert himself equally, if not better than the Spaniard in the field of literature. Many literary men participated.

The pervading racial discrimination at the UST gave Rizal the theme for "Junto al Pasig," a one-act play which he wrote during his time as president of the Academy of Spanish Literature of the Ateneo. The drama satirized the friar in the person of Satan who tempted one of the characters with fabulous riches and powers. When the play was staged, the Jesuits gamely laughed at the satire, but some conservative friars felt insulted.

Problems in UST

While at UST, Rizal encountered racial discrimination. A strange mixture of love of country and racial love made him the defender of the Filipino students against the Spanish and *mestizo* students. Those who surpassed the Spanish and *mestizos* in the classrooms were insulted and were called *indios*. In turn, the native students retaliated by calling them "kastila, bangus."

Rizal was not satisfied in the University of Santo Tomas. He would compare it with Ateneo. While he was well loved in the Ateneo, the Dominican professors were hostile to him. He would satirize the UST method of teaching in his "Fili" on the chapter "The Class in Physics." Moreover, he was not satisfied with his grades. There were only few excellent grades in his four years of medicine. His grades in 1876-1882 are as follows:

1878-1879

Physics	Fair
Chemistry	Excellent
Natural History	Fair
Anatomy 1	Good
Dissection 1	Good

1879-1880

Anatomy 2	Good
Dissection 2	Good
Physiology	Good
Private Hygiene	Good
Public Hygiene	Good

1880-1881

General Pathology	Fair
Therapeutics	Excellent
Operation (Surgery)	Good

1881-1882

Medical Pathology	Very Good
Surgical Pathology	Very Good
Obstetrics	Very Good

Rizal at the UST: A Summary

Knowledge and Skills
--- mastery of Spanish language
--- literary acumen
--- Philosophy
--- Natural Sciences
--- Medicine

Attitudes and Values
--- racial love
--- patience
--- determination
--- competitiveness
--- importance of education

JOURNEY INTO LIGHT:
Rizal in Europe
1882-1887

Celestina Boncan

This paper is about Rizal's first trip to Europe from 1882-1887. Principally, Rizal went to Spain to finish the course in medicine that he started at the University of Santo Tomas. He also went to Spain because of a mission placed upon his shoulders by his brother Paciano which was to bring to the attention of officials in Spain the misgovernment that his countrymen in the Philippines suffered from abusive colonial officials.

Rizal did not just stay in Spain. The lure of other European cities beckoned to Rizal. And when he did so, it was to know more about their people, their language, their culture, and their society. The aim of this paper is to bring the reader to the various cities in Europe that Rizal visited from 1882 to1887 and to show how Rizal's sojourns to these places molded his political thinking.

KEYWORDS: Barcelona * El Amor Patrio * Madrid * Heidelberg * A las flores del Heidelberg * Wilhelmsfeld * Karl Ullmer * Ferdinand Blumentritt * Leipzig * Berlin * Maximo Viola * Leitmeritz

Rizal in a Trench Coat

Our familiar picture of Rizal is one where he is in a trench coat, the thick, dark-colored, woolen, long-sleeved coat that falls below the knee. A pair of leather shoes completes the familiar apparel of our national hero. We find this manner of dressing in all of Rizal's pictures, the monuments that dot the plazas of all towns and cities in the country, even his monument at the Luneta. Why is it that Rizal is always portrayed in this type of apparel?

Undoubtedly, this is because one of the highlights of Rizal's life, probably the most important after reading this paper, was the period when he was out of the country, traveling to the other part of the world, Europe. The trench coat thus depicts one of several aspects in the life of Rizal --- that of a traveler. The trench coat is also indicative of Europe where Rizal spent nearly ten years of his adult life, from the time he was 22 years old up to 32 years old, where he imbibed the spirit of enlightened learning in Europe.

1882-1887: Journey into Light

Manila-Singapore

Rizal left Manila for Spain on May 3, 1882. Since there was no direct voyage from Manila to Spain, Rizal had to take first the steamer bound for Singapore. Rizal boarded the Spanish steamer *Salvadora* which he described as being old and out-of-date, its passengers being mostly Spaniards who spoke badly about the Philippines and regarded Rizal as an *indio*." Rizal called the *Salvadora* as an aquatic extension of Spanish colonial Philippines for having characteristics that were very similar to the Philippines under Spanish colonial rule. Like the Philippines, the *Salvadora* had little of the modern amenities that had already made sea travel at the time more convenient. The predominantly Spanish nationality of the passengers on the ship revealed the Philippines as a backwater area in the region that did not attract foreigners to its shores. The Spanish passengers who spoke badly about the Philippines reminded Rizal of their compatriots in the Philippines who themselves spoke badly about the country while forgetting that they derived their livelihood and wealth from the country that they despised. For treating Rizal as a lowly native commoner, these same passengers made the *Salvadora* a true extension of Spanish colonial Philippines by continuing to impose racial discrimination even beyond the territorial confines of their Philippine colony.

Singapore-Barcelona

Rizal boarded in Singapore on May 11, 1882 the steamer that took him to Spain. Rizal took the steamer *Djemnah* which belonged to the Messageries Maritimes, a French steamship company. Rizal's description of the *Djemnah* was so much different from the *Salvadora*. Everything in the ship shone with cleanliness, the toilets were clean, the cabins were beautiful and well-ventilated, each one had its own lights, basins, curtains and mirrors, the floor was covered with rugs, the beds had springs and were very cool while the stewards were attentive, courteous and smart. The ship's passengers were of different nationalities --- English, French, Dutch, and Spanish --- who engaged Rizal in lively conversation. For Rizal, the *Djemnah* symbolized the modern world created by the West. The manifest revealed not only the cosmopolitan nature of the passengers but also that they did not harbor notions of discrimination against non-Europeans.

Barcelona

Rizal arrived in Barcelona, Spain on June 16, 1882. Shortly after his arrival, Rizal wrote his first essay in foreign shores on a theme that would echo in all of his later writings. This theme is love of country. This first essay is aptly entitled "El Amor Patrio" or Love of Country.

Rizal wrote on a theme that he at once felt as soon as he arrived in Barcelona. He says that this is the same feeling that travelers always experience when they find themselves far from the land of their birth:

"...we in foreign land will dedicate
our first utterances to our country,
enveloped in morning clouds and mist,
always beautiful and poetic,
and more idolized by her sons
when they are absent and far away from her."

Rizal says that nostalgia for one's country is not unsurprising because it is a very natural feeling and:

"... because there in our country
are our first memories of childhood,
a merry ode known only in childhood,
from whose races spring forth
the flower of innocence and happiness;
because there slumbers a whole past
and a future can be hoped,
because in her forests and in her meadows,
on every tree, on every blade, on every flower
you see engraved the memory of a being
you love, as her breath in the perfumed breeze,
her song in the murmur of the fountains,
her smile in the rainbow of the sky,
or her sighs in the confused moans
of the night wind"

Rizal exults love of country as the highest ideal:

"...love of country is the purest, most heroic,
and most sublime human sentiment..."

According to Rizal, this is because love of country:

... is affection for everything that reminds us
something of the first days of our lives,
the land where our ancestors are sleeping ..."

Rizal says that throughout history men have made numerous sacrifices and self-denials in the name of love of

Ambeth Ocampo

country:

"... with the pieces of their hearts
they raise glorious monuments
to their motherland; with the work
of their hands, with sweat of their brow,
they have sprinkled and made fruitful
her sacred tree, and neither have they expected
nor received any reward ..."

Towards the last part of the essay Rizal leaves this message:

"... let us love her (Motherland) always
and let us wish nothing
but her welfare; you who have lost
the ideals of your soul, you, who, with wounded
hearts have seen your illusions disappear one by
one, and like the trees in autumn
you find yourselves without flowers and
without leaves, and desirous of loving,
find no one worthy of you,
there you have the Motherland:
Love her ..."

Rizal signed this essay *Laong Laan* and sent it to the *Diariong Tagalog* in Manila which published it in its August 20, 1882 issue. It appears that at this time Rizal had as yet no venue in Spain for his maiden political article. Being newly arrived in Spain, Rizal had not yet made acquaintances among the Spanish publications.

Madrid

On September 12, 1882 Rizal arrived at the Universidad Central de Madrid where he enrolled to take up Medicine and Philosophy & Letters.

Rizal received his Licentiate in Medicine on June 21, 1884 with the general rating of a*probado* (fair). The following shows Rizal's performance as a student in the said course:

1882-1883 FIFTH YEAR MEDICINE

Medical Clinic (first course)	Good
Surgical Clinic (first course)	Good
Obstetrical Clinic	Fair
Legal Medicine	Excellent

1883-1884 SIXTH YEAR MEDICINE

Medical Clinic (second course)	Good
Surgical Clinic (second course)	Very Good

Rizal received his Licentiate in Philosophy and Letters on June 19, 1885 with the general rating of *sobresaliente* (excellent).The following shows Rizal's performance in the said course:

1882-1883

Universal History (first course)	Very Good
General Literature	Excellent

1883-1884

Universal History (first course)	Excellent
Greek and Latin Literature	Excellent
Greek (first course)	Excellent

1884-1885

Spanish Literature	Excellent
Arabic Language	Excellent
Greek (second course)	Excellent
History of Spain	Good
Hebrew	Excellent

Rizal exerted a great effort to excel in his studies to make himself as an example to other Filipino students who were likewise in Madrid but spent more time in places of leisure. More importantly, Rizal wanted to show to the Spanish people the capability of Filipinos for higher education. This is in view of the repeated denunciations of the Spanish friars that Filipinos were uncivilized and that they owe their being civilized to Spain.

On June 25, 1884 Rizal gave a toasting speech in honor of Juan Luna and Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo. He was invited by the Filipino community in Madrid to give this singular honor to the two for winning the highest honors at the Bella Exposicion de Bellas Artes --- Luna for his *Spoliarium* and Hidalgo for his *Virgenes cristianas expuestas al populacho*. Rizal honored the two as the glories, indeed, of the Philippines. However, Rizal hastens to add that the two could also be the glories of Spain. The reason for this is because "genius knows no country, genius sprouts everywhere, genius is like light, air, the patrimony of everybody, cosmopolitan like space, like life, like God." Rizal therefore demolished the practice of the Spaniards to discriminate against Filipinos solely on the basis of race.

The toasting speech also served as Rizal's political debut, so to speak. Until this time, Rizal had not yet made any "political noise" publicly. In the toasting speech, Rizal uttered his political message for the first time, a message that would reverberate in all of his other works. His message to the Spaniards was the necessity of instituting reforms in the country because "the patriarchal era in the Philippines is waning, the deeds of her illustrious sons are no longer wasted away at home, the oriental chrysalis is leaving the cocoon."

However, the friars in Manila learned about Rizal's toasting speech. The occasion had been covered by Spanish journalists and reported in newspapers which reached Manila. The friars lost no time in declaring Rizal an *ereje* (heretic) and a *filibustero* (subversive). As early as 1884, or three years before the *Noli Me Tangere* was published, Rizal was already politically-marked by the Spaniards as an enemy of the church and of the state.

Heidelberg

Rizal arrived in Heidelberg on February 3, 1886.

Heidelberg was the first German city that Rizal visited. As soon as he arrived in the city, Rizal enrolled at the Heidelberg University for some conferences on ophthalmology. Rizal loved Heidelberg because of its university. Heidelberg was known for being a university town. Students all over Germany studied in its university. Rizal's great affinity to Heidelberg and its students came naturally as his great passion in life was learning.

Despite the beauty and great renown of Heidelberg, Rizal never forgot the Philippines. Now and then, he felt a great nostalgia for the Philippines. To ease his loneliness, Rizal wrote on April 22, 1886 a poem that he entitled "A las flores del Heidelberg." In the poem, Rizal called upon the flowers that bloomed all over Heidelberg in the early spring to:

"*... Go to my country ...*
Tell them about the faith
For his native land, the pilgrim sighs

"*... Go ye and say ...*
You saw him silent beside
You thinking of your constant springtime

"*... Say thou that when the breeze ...*
To you murmurs songs of love a-playing
He too was murmuring
Songs of romance in his native accent

"*... And when the sun gilds the spire ...*
He salutes that sun at its beginning
Which in his land at zenith fulgurates"

As he was so far away from the Philippines, Rizal called upon the flowers of Heidelberg to do what he cannot do which was to:

"*... Bring thou with thee*
Love to all my amours
Peace to my country with fecund soil,

To her women virtue, to her men faith,
To sweet and good beings health
That shelters the home holy and paternal ...
"... When upon the shore you alight,
The kiss on you I press
Place it on the wings of the breeze
That it may go with its flight
And kiss all that I love, adore and caress ..."

Wilhelmsfeld

Rizal arrived in Wilhelmsfeld, a small town near Heidelberg, on April 26, 1886. He went to Wilhelmsfeld upon the invitation of Karl Ullmer, a Protestant pastor, whom he had met in Heidelberg. Initially, Rizal honored the invitation of Pastor Ullmer to be able to practice speaking in German. But Rizal's stay in Pastor Ullmer's vicarage did not only result in gaining for Rizal a greater fluency in the German language.

Rizal established good relations with Pastor Ullmer and his wife, their daughter Eta and son Friedrich. Even after he had left Wilhelmsfeld, Rizal continued to write to Pastor Ullmer. It seems that the difference in religion --- Pastor Ullmer was a Protestant --- did not serve as an obstacle to the friendship that the two struck. Most probably, Rizal learned the basic tenets of Protestantism from Pastor Ullmer, minus the prejudices and biases. This was an entirely novel experience for Rizal, being one who was raised and tutored in Spanish Catholicism. In the Philippines, Spain's unwavering "bastion of faith," Protestants had always been regarded as the enemy. The discourse on religion with Ullmer would have revealed to Rizal that religion is universal.

Heidelberg

Rizal returned to Heidelberg on June 26, 1886. On July 31, 1886 he struck a friendship with an Austrian professor, Ferdinand Blumentritt, whom he sent a book on arithmetic written in Tagalog and Spanish. This was the beginning of an enduring friendship between the two which they would maintain through regular letter writing even after Rizal's return to the Philippines. In later years, it was to Blumentritt that Rizal confided the deep melancholy that exile in Dapitan brought to him. Like a true friend, Blumentritt counseled Rizal to drive away his loneliness by busying himself with learning. He suggested to Rizal to write a grammar book on Tagalog. Truly, Blumentritt's letters provided the comfort and solace that Rizal most needed.

Leipzig

Rizal arrived in Leipzig on August 15, 1886. In Leipzig Rizal translated the story of the popular hero, William Tell, into Tagalog. Until this time, Tagalog was a language that he spoke in Calamba with his family. When he studied at the Ateneo and while in Madrid, Tagalog was mostly a language of conversation for Rizal. Spanish was *the* academic language, the language of political writing, for Rizal. By translating the story of William Tell into Tagalog, Rizal gave a new-found appreciation of Tagalog as a language for literary expression.

On October 14, 1886 Rizal met Dr. Hans Meyer, the chief of the Bibliographical Institute of Germany.

Dresden

Rizal arrived in Dresden on October 29, 1886. Aside from visiting the interesting sights of the city, Rizal met Dr. Adolph B. Meyer, a naturalist from the University of Dresden.

Berlin

Rizal arrived in Berlin on November 1, 1886. In Berlin Rizal met new friends. Among them was a compatriot, Maximo Viola, who was studying medicine. Viola provided Rizal with the money to be able to have the novel that he had been writing since leaving Spain published. The novel, the *Noli Me Tangere*, came off the press on March 21, 1887.

Two other new acquaintances of Rizal were Germans. The first was Dr. Fedor Jagor who invited him to attend the monthly luncheons of the Geographic Society of Berlin. The second was Dr. Rudolph Virchow, the president of the Anthropological Society of Berlin, whom he met in one of these luncheons. Rizal became a member of these two societies in February 1887.

Rizal became a member of another society, the Ethnographic Society of Berlin. He was accepted in this society after he read before its members his thesis "Arte metrica del Tagalog."

Leitmeritz

Rizal arrived in Leitmeritz on May 13, 1887. Leitmeritz is the hometown of Ferdinand Blumentritt. With his arrival in Leitmeritz, Rizal met Blumentritt personally for the first time.

Other German Cities

Rizal also visited Bonn, Cologne, Coblenz, Ehrenfels, Strassbourg, Frankfurt, and Halle.

1887: Return to Twilight

Marseilles-Saigon

Rizal left Europe by way of Marseilles, France on July 3, 1887. For the trip back to the Philippines Rizal boarded the *Djemnah* which was then bound for Saigon, arriving there on July 30, 1887. Rizal's departure from Marseilles was likewise Rizal's departure from the "Light."

Saigon-Manila

For the trip to Manila Rizal boarded the steamer Haiphong on August 2, 1887, arriving in Manila on August 5, 1887. Rizal's return to the country marked the end of his "Journey into Light" and the beginning of his "Return to

Twilight."

Conclusion

Rizal's travels to Europe from 1882-1887 constitutes one of the most important periods of his life. It was in every aspect a "Journey into Light" as described by his foremost biographer, Austin Coates. On one hand, Rizal achieved the purpose for which the trip to Europe was made which was to finish his study of medicine. On the other, and more importantly, the trip to Europe illumined Rizal's thinking --- it widened his knowledge about other peoples and cultures, it introduced him to new intellectual friends, it brought him into contact with the new fields of investigation in the social sciences then taking root in Europe, namely, anthropology, ethnography, and geography. Rizal's travels to Europe nurtured in him the need to awaken his countrymen from the long slumber of oppression brought about by colonial rule.

All of these contributed to the qualities that made Rizal the towering figure of the late 19th century, that made him our national hero, and that continue to make him relevant in our present modern times. Rizal displayed the eternal qualities of heroism which are love of country and the highest ideals to free our people from bondage and henceforth to bring material progress and advancement to our country.

Reference:

Coates, Austin. Rizal: Filipino Nationalist & Patriot. Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1992.

JOSE RIZAL AS CRISOSTOMO IBARRA: Paradigm of Author and Character as One

Celestina Boncan

Crisostomo Ibarra, the principal character of the *Noli Me Tangere*, shares with Jose Rizal in 1887 the similarity of returning to the land of their birth after being away for some time, preoccupied with acquiring an education abroad. Ibarra, the character, returns to his hometown, San Diego, after seven years of study in Germany and Switzerland while Rizal, the author, returns to the Philippines after five years of study in Europe.

Author and character are similarly bound together by the plans that they made upon returning to the land of their birth. The aim of this paper is to see Jose Rizal, the person, in Crisostomo Ibarra, the character, through the following: 1) the plans that each made upon their return, 2) the tragedies that befell their plans, and 3) the redemption of their plans.

KEYWORDS: Noli Me Tangere * Crisostomo Ibarra * Jose Rizal

Crisostomo Ibarra (1)

Plan

Ibarra's first plan upon returning to the country was to find out what had happened to Don Rafael Ibarra, his father. For about a year or so already, Ibarra had not heard from his father. Initially, the letters from his father were regular but had stopped coming. Don Rafael was not only father to the young Ibarra. He had given Crisostomo a good life and a good name for which reason Ibarra resolved to return to the country at once.

Tragedy

Ibarra found out that his father was already dead. The death of Don Rafael struck an even deeper wound in the heart of the young Ibarra when he found out the gruesome circumstances behind the death of his father. His father had been wrongly accused of the death of another for which he was arrested and sent to prison. He died in prison before the papers ordering his release could be forwarded. Even in death, peace eluded Don Rafael when the parish priest, Father Damaso, ordered his remains exhumed and then transferred to the cemetery for the Chinese which was only for non-Christians. Tired from digging up Don Rafael's remains but still half-way to the cemetery the gravediggers threw the old man's body to the lake.

Redemption

Despite the death of his father, Ibarra found comfort in the thought that honorable people and those devoted to his father attended the burial. There were six of them: 1) Tenyente Guevarra who went to the governor-general to ask for the release of Don Rafael; 2) Pilosopo Tasyo, the old, learned scholar who had become mistakenly known as a madman; 3) Don Felipo, the young lieutenant mayor of San Diego who refused extravagant, ostentatious celebrations; 4) Capitan Tiago; 5) the school teacher; and 6) the old servant who faithfully served the Ibarra family.

Jose Rizal (1)
Plan

Rizal's first plan upon returning to the country was to find out the status of the sales of the *Noli Me Tangere*. The *Noli* came off the press in March in 1887. Rizal knew that copies had been sent to the Philippines. From initial reports that reached him, the book was well-received by people. Rizal looked forward to its brisk sales.

Tragedy

Rizal did not realize that even before he arrived in the country a review of the *Noli* had already been ordered which was undertaken by a committee made up of Dominican friars. When it released its findings, the committee found the *Noli* heretical, impious and scandalous from the standpoint of religion. On the standpoint of public order, the committee found the *Noli* unpatriotic and subversive. The committee believed that the *Noli* would cause grave harm if it was allowed to circulate in the country. The committee's recommendation was to ban the *Noli*.

Redemption

The fate of the *Noli* took another turn when Governor-General Emilio Terrero did not right away accept the recommendation of the committee that reviewed the *Noli*. He summoned Rizal for an interview, revealing the governor general to be a man who was not easily swayed by the opinion of the friars. Instead, Governor-General Terrero ordered a new review of the *Noli* to be undertaken by the Permanent Commission of Censorship which included laymen among its members.

Crisostomo Ibarra (2)
Plan

Ibarra's second plan upon returning to the country was to marry Maria Clara, his childhood sweetheart. Back from his studies abroad, Ibarra was ready to marry Maria Clara. Capitan

Tiago, Maria Clara's stepfather, approved of the marriage and looked forward to having the young Ibarra as his son-in-law.

Tragedy

Ibarra's marriage plans were offset when the friars connived to have Ibarra excommunicated for what he did to Father Damaso. In one gathering, Father Damaso vilified the memory of his dead father, Don Rafael. Feeling that it was his duty to uphold the honor of his father, the young Ibarra took a knife and set to strike Father Damaso. His hand though was stayed by Maria Clara. With the excommunication hanging above Ibarra's head like a sword of Damocles, Capitan Tiago dissolved the betrothal of Maria Clara to Ibarra.

Redemption

Ibarra did not remain excommunicated for long. The governor-general called for Ibarra and promised that he would personally speak to the Archbishop to have the excommunication lifted. The church sanction was indeed lifted by the archbishop, allowing the young Ibarra to resume his marriage plans.

Jose Rizal (2)

Plan

Rizal's second plan upon returning to the country was to marry Leonor Rivera. She was the beautiful daughter of Antonio Rivera and his wife Silvestra who were distant relatives of Rizal. They were the owners of the Casa Tomasina, the boarding house where Rizal lived when he went back to the Ateneo in 1877 to study metaphysics. In 1887, with a licentiate in medicine and philosophy and letters, Rizal was every inch a professional, capable of getting married, settling down and raising a family.

Tragedy

Rizal's marriage plans did not materialize. Rizal found out that Leonor Rivera was nowhere in Manila anymore. For some months earlier, she and her parents had gone to live in Dagupan.

Redemption

The physical distance that prevented Rizal from marrying Leonor Rivera saved her from the stigma that had already been attached to Rizal by the *Noli*. As was the practice of the Spanish authorities at the time, it was not only the *filibustero* who suffered the stigma but likewise his family, relatives and loved ones. Actually, the two wanted to meet but their respective parents did not agree, apprehensive of the dire consequences that may ensue. Even on the eve of his second departure for Europe in 1888, Rizal never had the chance to see Leonor Rivera.

Crisostomo Ibarra (3)

Plan

Ibarra's third plan upon returning to the country was to uplift the condition of San Diego which to him had not changed since the time he left to study abroad. Ibarra found out from the teacher of San Diego how Don Rafael had helped in the education of the children of San Diego. Ibarra decided to build a school for the children as the best way to give justice to the memory of his father. For starters, Ibarra wanted to give San Diego its own building. The school before was located at the basement of the parish convent under the constant scrutiny of Father Damaso. Moreover, it was the practice of Father Damaso to humiliate the school teacher before the children.

Tragedy

An accident occurred during the cornerstone-laying. A man was killed when the stone fell on him. The accident was meant to happen to Ibarra. The plan was for the stone to fall on

Ibarra as soon as he stepped on the hole where he was supposed to put an article of historical significance as was the practice of the time. It was arranged by a man who wanted to take revenge for the oppression that his family suffered under the ancestors of Ibarra.

Redemption

Ibarra was not killed during the cornerstone-laying. He had been forewarned earlier by Elias who had overheard the plans to kill Ibarra. Instead, the contraption mysteriously fell on the man who had earlier planned the whole thing.

Jose Rizal (3)

Plan

Rizal's third plan upon returning to the country was to be of service to the people of Calamba. Rizal set up a clinic in Calamba where he put to good use the degree in medicine that he received in Spain. In Calamba, Rizal restored to good health the numerous sick who called on him.

Tragedy

In Calamba, Rizal came to be known as the "German" doctor. The racial slur carried a religious implication. Germany was the traditional enemy of Spain. Germany was Protestant as against Spain which was Catholic. Hence, anything that pertained to Germany or anyone identified with Germany was to be regarded with suspicion. One of the reasons why he left the Philippines in 1888 was because the people of Calamba regarded him as a spy of the German government.

Redemption

Rizal was not only a small town doctor. In the larger perspective, Rizal says that the country is also sick. He called this illness a cancer because it was an illness that had long been untreated. It was an illness that its own countrymen had ignored for years because they were afraid to speak about it lest they be implicated by the friars who viewed any form of intervention as a mortal sin. To speak of this cancer was like signing one's own death sentence. Now, this cancer had gone from bad to worse. But the cancer begs to be noticed and needs to be treated for the salvation of the country.

Conclusion

Through the *Noli*, Rizal had hoped to make his countrymen aware of the existence of the cancer that afflicted the people so that a cure may be found and the country can be whole again.

FIFTY YEARS OF THE RIZAL LAW: 1956-2006 What Have We Learned?

Augusto de Viana

More than fifty years ago, on June 12, 1956, a compromise version of House Bill No. 5561 and Senate Bill No. 438 became a law --- Republic Act No. 1425. This law, better known as the Rizal Law, made the study of the life and works of the national hero, Jose Rizal, a required subject in Philippine colleges and universities. The purpose of the law was enunciated in its "whereases" and preamble. According to this section, "there is a need for a rededication to the ideals of freedom and nationalism for which our heroes lived and died."

The intention of R.A. 1425 was both to honor Filipino heroes, not just Rizal. The law aimed to inculcate among the people nationalistic ideals which Filipino heroes lived by. Among the Filipino heroes, the law singled out Rizal whom the preamble noted as the hero 'whom we remember with special fondness." The article examines how the Rizal Law has fared after 50 years of implementation.

KEYWORDS: Republic Act No. 1425 * Claro M. Recto * Jose P. Laurel * Catholic Church

Rizal as the Exemplar and Beacon of the Youth

The Rizal Law was actually a boon to the admirers of the hero who was seen as an exemplary Filipino. Before the law was passed, there were observations which appeared in editorial columns of newspapers and other publications that the collective memory of Rizal was fading away. Fewer people, according to an editorial, remember Rizal, much less emulate his ideals and ideas. At that time, Rizal's contemporaries have started to pass away. They would have been in their 80s and 90s by the 1950s. Aside from his contemporaries, Rizal's more ardent admirers had also started to fade away.

The emergence of the crafting of such a law like the Rizal Law could be explained through a phenomenological approach. In the second paragraph of the Explanatory Note or Preamble, it is mentioned that "today more than any other period of our history, there is a need for a rededication to the ideals of freedom and nationalism for which our heroes lived and died."[1] Rizal was seen as a shining guide in the tumultuous 1950s. The country had passed through some of its most tumultuous episodes in its postwar history, the most serious of which was the Huk Insurgency where Filipinos were not fighting a foreign enemy but themselves over an ideology.

At the same time, the government was heavily dependent on the United States. Pro-Americanism was the order of the day especially after the recognition of the country's independence in 1946. The very last public speech given by President Manuel Roxas was to affirm the country's loyalty to its former colonizer and its alignment with US policy in relation to America's enemies in the Cold War.

The perception of being a close ally of the US was desired by politicians that candidates campaigning for national office often had a Caucasian-looking person at the stage to make the people believe that he had the support of the Americans.

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[1] Republic Act No. 1425.

On the other hand, Philippine media, which was one of the freest in the world, reported on a litany of sensational events, mostly involving public scandals such as the Surplus Property Commission of the late 1940s, the "what are we in power for" statement by Senator Jose Avelino and the fabled golden *orinola* of President Elpidio Quirino of the 1950s. The post independence period was indeed a confusing era. The Philippines was free but still under the pervasive influence of its former colonizer. The Filipinos were fighting among themselves over issues. Sometimes, a hero's name would be invoked by some sectors. The most common would be that of Rizal's --- "what Rizal would have done if he were alive today."

During the passionate discussion over the issue of collaboration with the Japanese during the Second World War, one speaker favoring the collaborationists remarked that Rizal would have done what Laurel did during the war. It elicited an angry reaction from the anti-collaborationist side. He said:[1]

> "Rizal never once yielded to Spanish tyranny. He could have lived a life of ease instead he chose the life of a martyr .... To this beautiful and shining figure of a patriot and a man, our advocates of amnesty would compare the weak and spineless puppets who held on the Japanese apron strings, mouthing lies dished out by the Japanese propaganda machine like so many idiotic ventriloquist's dummies ...."

Heroes like Rizal were seen as some kind of moral anchor that following the 1955 elections Senator Claro M. Recto introduced his original bill proposing the compulsory study of Jose Rizal, his life and his works.

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[1] Editorial, Philippine Liberty News, 20 August 1946, p. 2

Claro M. Recto: The Maverick

Strong opposition characterized the story of the original bill that eventually became the Rizal Law. Its original author, Claro M. Recto, was the subject of a vilification campaign backed by the Catholic Church and the administration of President Ramon Magsaysay. Recto was a maverick in the Senate. Recto opposed the actions of the Magsaysay Administration not merely on political and personal matters.

Recto's nationalistic stance and even anti-American patterns were influenced by various factors particularly his imprisonment under American pressure on the accusation of his collaboration with the Japanese during the Second World War. Recto was part of the war-time Philippine government from 1942 to 1945. He was imprisoned along with other Filipino collaborators like Antonio de las Alas, Rafael Alunan, Jr., Emiliano Tria Tirona and others at the Iwahig Prison in Palawan following the war. Following the recognition of the country's independence by the United States in 1946, Recto criticized Philippine policies especially the conduct of its foreign policy which he considered mendicancy to the United States. He once chided the government "that it would vote for the United States in the same way that Ukraine would vote for the Soviet Union."

Recto considered the Military Bases Agreement of 1947 and the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1951 as unequal treaties. He called attention that the country's foreign policy automatically made the enemies of America also its enemies, even as the latter treaty did not provide an automatic American response if the Philippines was attacked. Recto urged instead a neutralist policy. Recto also criticized the excessive pro-Americanism of government officials and attacked their constant obsession with what the Americans will think or do as if American interest and American public opinion were the only things that mattered and the only standards to be followed in the management of our own affairs.[1]

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[1] Manila Chronicle, 21 April 1951

Though nationalistic in character and conviction, Recto walked an unpopular path. He was considered a non-conformist and a communist. Magsaysay once challenged Recto to run in the 1957 elections and called him "a candidate of Mao Zedong."[1] Recto also earned the displeasure of the Catholic hierarchy and its many organizations. The "communist" label carried an implication that he was also an atheist, and therefore, anti-Church. The Catholic Church also wanted to elect its own candidate to the Senate in the person of Francisco "Soc" Rodrigo. The Church also believed that it should participate in government and that some cabinet posts should be reserved for its nominees. It believed that it should nominate the position of the Secretary of Education. Past education secretaries were nominees of the Church, among them was Pastor Endencia who was a recommendee of Archbishop Rufino Rosales who was succeeded by Gregorio Hernandez, a Catholic leader and former dean of the College of Law of the University of Santo Tomas.[2] Aside from his strong nationalist posture, Recto wanted to have a government free of Church intervention. He was swimming against the current of the highly popular Magsaysay Administration and the powerful Catholic Church. He barely survived the 1955 senatorial elections.

The Stormy Path

When Recto filed his original bill mandating the compulsory study of Rizal and his works, it was met with controversy. His bill made compulsory reading for all colleges and universities the novels of Jose Rizal, the *Noli Me Tangere* and the *El Filibusterismo*. The novels were described as "a constant source of patriotism" and these "should be suffused in the minds of the youth especially during their formative and decisive years in school." The bill was referred to the Committee on Education and sponsored on the Senate floor by Senator Jose P. Laurel, the committee chairman.

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[1] Manila Chronicle, 29 July 1955

[2] Renato Constantino, *The Philippines: The Continuing Past (Quezon City: 1975), p. 296*

Almost immediately the bill ran into determined opposition led by Senators Decoroso Rosales, Mariano Cuenco and Francisco Rodrigo. Two of the senators were brothers of high Church officials. Rosales was the brother of Archbishop Rosales while Mariano Cuenco was the brother of Archbishop Cuenco. Senator Rodrigo was the former president of the Catholic Action. They said that Recto's bill violate the freedom of conscience and religion. The Catholic Church issued a pastoral letter detailing its objections and enjoining its members to oppose Recto's Rizal Bill.[1]

Priests, many of whom were foreigners, were very active in the Senate lobbying its members to oppose the bill. Another organization, the Catholic Action of Manila, urged Filipino Catholics to write their senators and congressmen to kill the measure. It also held a symposium where experts on Rizal presented their views. One of the speakers, Fr. Jesus Cavanna, said that the novels belong to the past and it would be harmful to read them because they present a false picture of conditions in the country. Cavanna said that the *Noli* was not really patriotic because out of 333 pages only 25 contained patriotic utterances while there were 120 anti-Catholic passages. He concluded that the novel was an attack on the clergy.[2]

Another speaker, a radio commentator named Jesus Paredes, said that parts of the novel was declared as "objectionable matter" by the hierarchy and that Catholics had the right to refuse to read them as 'to endanger their salvation." Another speaker, Narciso Pimentel, who was another radio commentator, offered an interesting theory that Recto filed his Rizal Bill to punish Catholics and the Magsaysay Administration whom he blamed for his dismal performance in the 1955 elections.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 297

[2] Ibid.

[3] Jose Abueva, *Ramon Magsaysay: A Political Biography* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1971), pp. 91-94

In the Senate, Senator Francisco Rodrigo said that he had read Rizal's books when he was twenty years old but only after securing special dispensation from the Church. He said having taken up scholastic philosophy and religion, his faith had been firm enough not to be subverted. He said, however, that he would not allow his son who was 18 to read Rizal's novels lest he lose his faith. Rodrigo proposed instead that the compulsory reading of footnoted versions of the novels.[1]

In the course of the debates, the Catholic hierarchy threatened to close down Catholic schools if the Rizal Bill became a law. Recto dared the Catholic Church to close down its schools and went on record that if these schools close down, he would have them nationalized. He said that nationalization of the school system might be the needed step to foster vibrant nationalism among Filipinos. Recto actually did not believe that the Catholic learning institutions would close down because they were making too much profit which they can ill-afford to give up.

While other senators yielded to pressure from the Catholic hierarchy, Recto persisted. One bishop, Manuel Yap, resorted to blackmail threatening legislators who supported the bill would be punished in the next elections. Recto went again on the floor of the Senate protesting Church interference in political matters and called Yap a modern-day Torquemada.[2]

On May 12, after a month of debates, a substitute Rizal Bill was approved. Authored by Senator Laurel and based on the inputs made by Senators Roseller Lim and Emmanuel Pelaez, the new Rizal Bill accommodated the objections of the Catholic hierarchy. Though the bill required the use of original and unexpurgated text, students under Section 1 could be exempted from taking the course for religious belief stated in a sworn statement. The opponents of the original Recto Bill declared victory but proponents felt that at least they gained something.[1]

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[1] Manila Daily Bulletin, 3 May 1956
[2] Manila Daily Bulletin, 8 May 1956

The Rizal Bill Fifty Years Later

Though the present Rizal Law is a watered down version of the original Recto Bill, the law represents an effort to look at the values of one of the greatest Filipinos and draw guidance from his teachings. As a course in college, Rizal is being studied from all angles. The course on Rizal is not a hagiography on the hero. Neither is the Rizal Course a form of hero worship. Rizal's faults are also being discussed. A skillful professor would be able to put Rizal in his time and convey to his students the factors that led to his heroism. The professor would also be able to draw lessons from Rizal's time which are applicable today.

The law on Rizal, however, appears to be poorly implemented. There are reports of lack of adequate copies of Rizal's works, especially the *Noli* and the *Fili*. Under Section 2 of R.A. No. 1425, the National Board of Education shall determine the adequacy of the number of books, depending upon the enrollment of the school, college, or university. It is worth wondering whether this is still being done or whether the National Board of Education is still existing or existing under a new name or agency.[2]

Under Section 3 of R.A. No. 1425, this same board shall cause the translation into different Philippine dialects as well as the production and distribution of Rizal's *Noli*, *Fili* and all of his works. These works should be made into cheap and popular editions and distributed free of charge to persons desiring to read them through the Purok organizations and Barrio Councils around the country. This provision is not anymore being done. Presently, it is the National Historical Institute that produces some works about Rizal and distributes them at very low cost or gives them free to public agencies such as public libraries and local government units. The NHI has produced various titles on

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[1] Renato Constantino, *The Making of a Filipino, pp. 244-247*

[2] See R.A. No. 1425

Rizal including the translation into many dialects and languages of his last farewell.

Since the subject is a requirement for the completion of college studies, the lessons learned from the course are academic and intellectual at best and there appears to be no inculcation of Rizal's ideas and ideals among the students. When the students leave school, Rizal is conveniently forgotten. There is a need, therefore, for a program that would continue historical awareness on Rizal.

A fatal flaw in the Rizal Course lays on the preparation of its instructors and professors. A professor or instructor of the Rizal Course must be skillful enough to put Rizal in the proper historical perspective. He or she should understand Spain during the time of Rizal and Rizal when he was in Spain.

At that time, Spain had already lost most of its colonies. Spain was also in the throes of a struggle between monarchists who believed in maintaining the supremacy of the King or Queen and the republicans who were advocates of a republican government. Events within Spain affected the Philippines. While there were Spaniards sympathetic to reforms in the Philippines, they were distracted by gargantuan political crises which continued to plague Spain until the Spanish Civil War in 1936. Governments changed very frequently and some leaders met violent ends in the hands of anarchists. The political crises also affected the economy of the country and Spain became the backwater of Europe left behind by France, Germany and England.

While Rizal was in Spain, he was also drawn into the country's political atmosphere. He was not just an eyewitness but also a participant in the liberal movement led by Professor Miguel Morayta. Spain was not at all a very free country because Rizal himself was a potential target of police repression. By studying the conditions of the period and the conditions of the Philippines and Spain, a teacher of the Rizal Course would understand him better and project him in the proper perspective.

This would free the subject from just being another history subject or another boring topic to be memorized. Unless there is a perceptible improvement in the nationalistic sentiment, the Rizal Course is considered a dismal failure.

There is a Need to Rethink the Rizal Course

In this time and age, there is a need to draw guidance from our heroes and not just Rizal but other great Filipinos. Rizal does not have a monopoly of nationalism. There are others whose works and ideas equal or even surpass Rizal. The Rizal Law itself calls for the study of other great heroes, their lives and their works. This is not to denigrate our foremost hero but to point out the message of other heroes whose achievements are as classic as Rizal's. These heroes are reformists like Marcelo del Pilar and Graciano Lopez Jaena and revolutionaries like Andres Bonifacio, Emilio Jacinto, and Apolinario Mabini. Unfortunately, many young people know these heroes only from the epithets ascribed to them such as "Brains of the Katipunan" or "Brains of the Revolution." The study and inculcation of their works by students appear to be lacking. Their social teachings are relevant even after the passage of more than a hundred years. There is a need to study the works of heroes like Gregorio Sanciangco who antedated Rizal and the rest of the better know reformists. There are also the works of propagandists like Graciano Lopez Jaena and Marcelo del Pilar whose works should be studied more closely. These have been translated into English so more Filipinos could read them. It is also worthy to study the thoughts of great Filipinos whose applications are highly practical and relevant for today's situations. In a few words, heroes like Emilio Jacinto provide us words that are pregnant with greatness.

In his "Rules of the Association of the Sons of the People," Jacinto said, "A life not consecrated to a noble and holy purpose is like a tree without shade, if not a poisonous weed." These words should guide us in dedicating our lives to a purpose higher than ourselves like God and Country instead of our selfish objectives.[1]

Another important message from Jacinto was not to waste time ---"Wealth that is lost can be recovered, but time that has passed will not be regained again."

"To do good for personal gain and not for its own sake is not virtue." Here, Jacinto is telling us to throw away that vice called *pakitang tao* or being superficial. He is also telling us not to have ulterior motives. Another gem from Jacinto is "An honorable man prefers honor to personal gain, the scoundrel, gain to honor."[2]

"To an honorable man his word is sacred." That is self-explanatory and we must live by what we say and to live by what we promise."[3]

In his time, Jacinto recognized the honor and the role of women in society when he wrote "You should not look upon woman as a mere plaything but a faithful companion who will share with you the penalties of life; her weakness will increase with her and remind you of your mother who has reared you."[4]

Mabini picked up where Jacinto left off with his works such as his *Decalogue*. His essays contain a wealth of admonitions necessary for a strong and moral society. In one of his essays, he wrote that "independence is not enough but that a moral government is also indispensable. It must be very moral, that it should govern with truth, without deceit, sincerely complying with the law and its promises to the people.[5]

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[1] Emilio Jacinto, *Rules of the Association of the Sons of the People*, in Gregorio F. Zaide, *History of the Katipunan* (Manila: 1939), p. 34

[2] Ibid

[3] Ibid

[4] Ibid

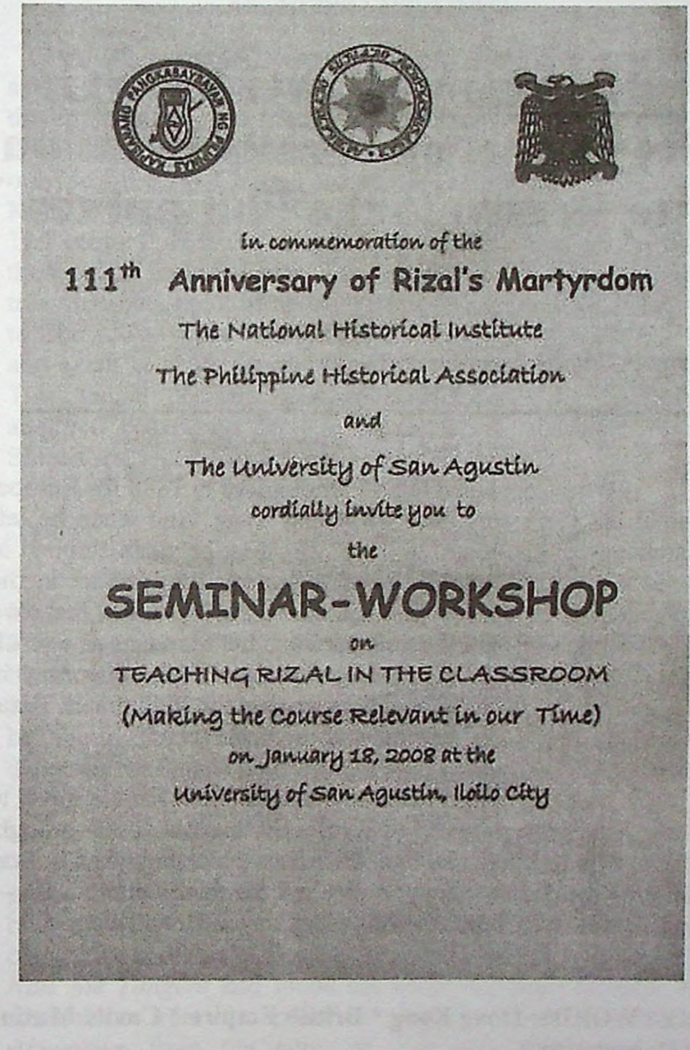
[5] Apolinario Mabini, *The Philippine Revolution*, Vol. II trans. (National Historical Institute: 2001), p. 48

He also lashed against the tendency towards vices --- "They constitute a destructive element and a threat to the equilibrium of a young society."

Mabini said that an ideal government should not be lagging nor too advanced but is adapted to the culture and growing needs of the people. To be on the extreme is vicious. The government must be very patriotic and one that seeks the general welfare not just of the individual or a privileged class. Only in this way he said that we can make our nation great and being such she can fulfill the mission that providence has intended in his grandiose plans. Mabini also talked about an ideal ruler. Such person need not be highly educated for a highly educated tends to be shrewd and cunning while a poorly educated one would be ill prepared like the blind leading the blind. The ideal ruler must be most of all moral and dedicated to the welfare of the people.

These are only some of the gems which belonged to our great men. Unfortunately, they remain only on the shelves of libraries or if they are taught, remain only to be memorized. We should also look at the Philippine Revolution not just as an armed struggle to overthrow a colonizer but also a moral renewal with the adoption of patriotic virtues and principles that our heroes lived and died for. After fifty years of the Rizal Law, it is high time to make an evaluation of the law to see if it has served its purpose. Perhaps, we should also include the study of the works of other Filipino heroes in the curriculum to supplement those of Rizal.

We should also study the motives of the people who supported or opposed the original Rizal Law as a way of studying the trends of our history. Was it really a tool used by Recto to punish Catholic voters in 1955? Or was it an object used to pursue a political agenda? Did the Rizal Law sideline other heroes? Fifty years after, we should ask ourselves if the Rizal Course achieved its purpose. Were the instructors of the course well prepared to teach it? Is the course still relevant? Should we improve it? Or do we abolish it altogether?



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RIZAL IN HONG KONG: Its Impact on Rizal's Decision to Return to the Philippines

Celestina Boncan

When Jose Rizal left the Philippines in 1888 for Europe, one of his ship's stop-over was Hong Kong. And when he left Europe in 1891 to return to the Philippines, he again stopped in Hong Kong. Each of these instances created an impact in the development of Rizal's political ideas. In 1888, he met two Filipino exiles who had been deported to the Marianas as a result of their complicity in the Cavite Mutiny but found their way in Hong Kong. In 1891, before he returned to the Philippines, Rizal stayed in Hong Kong and practiced medicine there.

This paper, as the title suggests, is about Rizal's travel to Hong Kong. The paper discusses the circumstances that brought Rizal to Hong Kong, highlight the events occurring when he was there --- the people whom he met and the things that he did --- and scrutinize the repercussions of his stay in Hong Kong.

KEYWORDS: Hong Kong * British Empire * Cavite Mutiny * Deportation *

19th Century Hong Kong

When the 19th century unfolded, Hong Kong was just a small settlement. Although located on the coast of China and thereby conducive to foreign trade, Hong Kong was eclipsed in this respect by nearby Canton (now Guangzhou) which was the only port that the Chinese government allowed to operate. Hong Kong developed into a bigger maritime emporium in the mid-19th century after the British became interested in expanding their opium trade in China. They chose Hong Kong to serve as a transshipment point of opium coming from India and henceforth to China. The opium trade angered China and led to war in 1839 and again in 1856, the so called First and Second Opium Wars. The British occupied Hong Kong in 1841 and eventually acquired possession through the Treaty of Nanking in 1842. Since then, Hong Kong became a British colony.

1888

Rizal first arrived in Hong Kong on February 8, 1888. He left Manila five days earlier on February 3, staying in Hong Kong until the 22nd. The trip to Hong Kong was the first leg of his travel back to Europe. Rizal had only been in the country for less than a year (he arrived in Manila on August 5, 1887) when he found himself once again embarking for Europe. This departure was made necessary by strong and compelling reasons.

The first was because Rizal faced powerful enemies in the country, notably the Dominicans, arising from two issues, the publication of the *Noli Me Tangere* and the Calamba Tax Report, both of which Rizal figured as the principal character. A committee made up of Dominican friars had earlier evaluated the *Noli Me Tangere* and found the novel heretical, impious, and scandalous from the point of religion and unpatriotic and subversive from the point of view of public order. The committee believed that the *Noli* would cause grave harm if allowed to circulate in the Philippines. In the end, the committee recommended that the *Noli* should be banned from circulating in the country. Rizal again incurred the ire of the Dominicans when he wrote the Calamba Tax Report. Earlier, the civil governor of Laguna asked the Calamba town council to submit a report on whether there had been any increase in the products and size of the Dominican estate in Calamba in the last three years. The report was meant to be an inquiry in order to inform the government of the true conditions in the Dominican estate. The provincial government noticed that the Dominican estate had grown in size but its tax payments did not increase commensurately, leaving the government to suspect that the full amount of the tax paid by the people of Calamba was not being remitted to the government.

Rizal also felt compelled to leave the country in 1888 because he felt that he was an outcast among his town mates in Calamba. A few days after his return to the Philippines, Rizal began practicing medicine in Calamba. However, news about his travel to Germany filtered in Calamba. Among the fiercely devout Catholics of Calamba, Germany was the seat of Protestantism, the enemy of Catholicism. And as Catholicism was intimately intertwined with Spain, Germany was regarded as an enemy of Spain. The people of Calamba came to call Rizal as "the German doctor." The German slur on his person carried the stigma that he was not to be trusted as he may be a spy of Germany.

His own family too felt uncomfortable in his presence. Unknown to Rizal, he had already come to be regarded as an *ereje* and a *filibustero* even when he was still in Spain. This came about after his speech honoring Luna and Hidalgo for in that speech he denounced the friars "as myopic pygmies, who assured of the present, fail to project their vision into the future." Rizal described them as "sickly nurses, corrupted and corrupting, engaged in stifling all legitimate sentiments." Continuing, Rizal says that "by perverting the heart of the people, they sow among them the seeds of discord, to reap later the harvest, the wolf's bane, the death of future generations." Rizal's toasting speech was reported in the newspapers of Madrid which found their way in Manila. Little did Rizal realize the tremendous strain that his father must have felt in accepting him, a *filibustero*, in his house when he came back to the Philippines in 1887 from Europe.

While compelled to leave the country, Rizal, too, had legitimate reasons for going abroad. The first reason was to write a sequel to the *Noli*. The *Noli* ended without being clear as to the fate of its principal character, Juan Crisostomo Ibarra. The novel ended with the *guardia civil* chasing Ibarra and Elias up to the lake, firing and fatally wounding one of them. But as to which one of them died, the *Noli* was not clear on this. The second reason was to write about the past of the Philippines. The *Noli* represented the Philippine present, the product of the brutality of Spanish colonialism. But it was the past, the time before Catholicism and colonialism descended upon the country, which intrigued Rizal. It is what he wanted to investigate and write about this time.

Rizal's second trip abroad was unlike his first departure where his route was across the Indian Ocean until the Suez Canal and on to the Mediterranean Sea, finally disembarking in Marseilles. For this second trip, Rizal's route was across the Pacific Ocean until the United States, traversing the whole breadth and extent of America from San Francisco in the west coast until New York in the east coast, thereafter crossing the Atlantic Ocean, finally disembarking in Liverpool, England.

Hong Kong was meant to be a stop-over, a place from where to board the forward ship that would take Rizal across the Pacific, America and the Atlantic and from there to Europe. But Hong Kong did not remain as a mere stop over. In Hong Kong, Rizal met Jose Maria Basa and Balbino Mauricio. The two were among several civilians, mostly merchants, who were implicated in the 1872 Cavite Mutiny. Their punishment was ten years exile in the Marianas. However, the two escaped and made their way to Hong Kong. The meeting with Basa and Mauricio was fortuitous as much as it afforded Rizal the opportunity to meet the leaders of the first reform movement. Yes, there was a first reform movement prior to the advent of Rizal, Pedro Paterno, Gregorio Sanciangco, Julio Llorente, etc. This reform movement grew out of the appointment of Carlos Maria de la Torre as governor-general of the Philippines in 1869. Due to the new political climate fostered by a liberal governor-general, an alliance was formed called Comite de Reformadores. There was a civilian section made up of lawyers and businessmen. It was headed by Joaquin Pardo de Tavera and counted as its members Basa and Mauricio. The clerical section was made up of secular priests and was headed by Father Jose Burgos.

Of the two, it was the latter, Balbino Mauricio, whose story Rizal found most tragic. Balbino Mauricio escaped from the Marianas by disguising himself as a monk. When he arrived in Hong Kong, he became sickly. Penniless and alone, he lived in the slum area of Hong Kong. As a *deportado*, aggravated by having escaped from exile, he could not return to the Philippines. His life in Hong Kong became even more difficult by his family's rejection of him. He had written to his family in Manila to send his young son, Evaristo, to join him in Hong Kong. While his family agreed to this, it was the last request granted to him. He wrote to his family after that repeatedly to send him money. But his letters remained unanswered. Finally, he was able to raise some money to send young Evaristo to Manila to personally ask money from his family and relatives. In Manila, Evaristo was coldly received. He was given a few pesos, nothing more, and sternly told to return to Hong Kong. It appears that the stigma of being a *filibustero* extended to sons too.

Poor, timid, harmless, rejected by his own family, denied from living in the country of his birth, Balbino Mauricio had become less of the man that he used to be. Before 1872, Balbino Mauricio was wealthy and prominent. He was one of the busiest merchants in Manila. However, his implication in the Cavite Mutiny took away all of these. Face to face with Balbino Mauricio, Rizal must have realized the bitter fate that awaited those who crossed the government. It was also the same fate that could befall on him if the government chose to implicate him as a *filibustero*. Recalling the attitude of Balbino Mauricio's family of not having anything to do with him, Rizal realized the great fortitude displayed by his family in accepting him when he returned to the country in 1887. At that time, he was already marked as an *ereje* and *filibustero* due to the publication of the *Noli Me Tangere*. His parents could have done the same, that is, to refuse to have anything to do with him. But this was not what Francisco Mercado and Teodora Alonso did. On the contrary, they welcomed Rizal back in their home

Rizal left Hong Kong on February 22, 1888 aboard the *Oceanic* for Yokohama from where he boarded a ship bound for San Francisco. He reached his final destination, the British Museum in London, on May 25, 1888.

1891

Rizal found himself in Hong Kong again in 1891, arriving there on November 19 from Marseilles. He left the French port a month earlier on October 18 on his way back to the Philippines. Rizal's return to the Philippines was triggered by several reasons. The first was his firm belief that the true patriot serves in his own country and that it is in one's own country that a person can achieve more. The second was his conflict with Marcelo del Pilar with regards to the role that the *La Solidaridad* ought to play in the Reform Movement. The third reason was that the *Noli*'s sequel, the *El Filibusterismo*, had already been published (on September 18, 1891 in Ghent, Belgium).

While Hong Kong was meant to be a stop over from whence he was to board the ship bound for Manila, it was nonetheless a long stop over. Rizal stayed in Hong Kong for seven months. The stay in Hong Kong proved longer since Rizal opted to establish his medical practice there. Rizal opened a clinic for ophthalmology at No. 5 Aguilar Street from 2:00pm-6:00pm and a clinic for general medicine at No. 2 Duddell Street from 10:00am-12:00pm. In Hong Kong, Rizal put to good use his medical studies. His patients were of various nationalities who regarded him as a competent doctor. In Hong Kong, Rizal's nationality was unknown to his patients as he came to be popularly known as the "Spanish doctor."

Physically isolated from the Philippines, the country "came" to him in the form of members of his family. Paciano, his brother, Silvestre Ubaldo, the husband of his sister Olympia, and Francisco Mercado were the first to arrive in Hong Kong (December 6, 1891). Just before Christmas (December 23, 1891), some more members of his family arrived --- Teodora Alonso and three of his sisters, namely, Lucia, Josefa and Trinidad. The three men escaped to Hong Kong while en route to insular deportation, first, to Mindoro, and later to Sulu. Teodora Alonso was allowed to join Rizal in Hong Kong after her harrowing experience of being made to walk from Manila to Sta. Cruz, Laguna. Taking pity on her, the government allowed her to go to Hong Kong to join her family. Three of her daughters were likewise permitted to leave to accompany her.

In Hong Kong, Rizal's political activities were almost nil. He was isolated from the centers of political activity, namely, Manila and Madrid. But this did not deter Rizal from forgetting his countrymen. It was in Hong Kong that Rizal fully developed his North Borneo Project. Rizal's project was to resettle in North Borneo his Calamba town mates who had been dispossessed of their farms after they were expelled by the Dominicans. Henceforth settled in North Borne, they were to provide much needed labor there. Rizal conceived the project when he met William Pryer aboard the *Melbourne* on his way back to the Philippines in 1891. Pryer was the newly appointed manager of the British North Borneo Development Corporation and was on his way to Sandakan to assume the post. Out there in North Borneo, his Calamba town mates would be assured freedom from the abuses of the Spanish Government and the vengeance of the friar orders. Rizal himself went to Sandakan (on March 7, 1892) to inspect the place. Convinced of the project, he wrote to Governor General Eulogio Despujol (on March 21, 1892) to explain the project and to permit those of his Calamba town mates who wished to go there.

In Hong Kong, Rizal became acquainted with some people with whom he spent a considerable amount of time. One of them was Lourenzo Pereira Marques, a Portuguese, whose family used to be important in Macao. He left Macao after becoming dissatisfied with his life there. He went to Ireland where he studied medicine. While he was in Ireland, he became a republican and took up British citizenship. He then went to Hong Kong to serve under the British government there. However, he received only the position of medical officer of Victoria Prison as he was only a naturalized British subject. Another acquaintance of Rizal was Robert Fraser Smith, the editor of the Hong Kong Telegraph. He used the newspaper to expose the injustices committed by the Hong Kong government and British merchants. Still another of Rizal's acquaintances was Jose Pedro Braga, a Portuguese. He opposed the social injustices of the Hong Kong government against the Portuguese community. Last but not the least of Rizal's acquaintances in Hong Kong was Jose Maria Basa whom he met earlier during his first visit in Hong Kong. It would appear that Rizal's friends in Hong Kong were discontented and embittered people. Among them, Rizal found himself in the middle of passionate and heatedly expressed ideas.

Conclusion

Hong Kong could have been more than a mere stop-over of Rizal's foreign travels. Hong Kong could have been a way out for Rizal's political predicament. He could have stayed in Hong Kong indefinitely. Anyway, he already started and built a successful medical practice there. As a British colony, Hong Kong could provide Rizal immunity from arrest, imprisonment and execution by the Spanish government. But Rizal never meant to make Hong Kong as his rock of refuge. His place was in the Philippines with his people. That was his belief when he was still in Madrid. That was the reason why he left Madrid in 1891 --- his firm belief that the true patriot serves his own country. It could also have been that Rizal believed that destiny awaited him in the Philippines. It was there where he was needed, not in Hong Kong, so that he could prepare his countrymen to be worthy of being granted freedom through the La Liga Filipina, whose foremost goal was to unify the Filipino people into one homogeneous group and then work for their educational, economic and civic progress.

Hence, on June 21, 1892 he wrote to Governor General Despujol that he would return to the Philippines to place himself at the disposal of the Spanish government, to shoulder the burden of persecution of his family, and to answer all charges that may be brought against him. Rizal kept his date with destiny and forever closed this chapter of his life. On the same day, he left the safety of Hong Kong, arriving in Manila five days later. Less than a month after his arrival, the Spaniards made good their long awaited desire to cut short Rizal's political activities. On July 7, 1892 Rizal was arrested on the strength of possession of subversive documents that customs officials allegedly found in his baggage. He was imprisoned in Fort Santiago while the authorities decided on his fate. Before the month was over, he was in Dapitan where he would endure four lonely years of exile.

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ANG HACIENDA SA CALAMBA, 1887-1891: Ang Pamilya Rizal sa Gitna ng Tunggalian

Jerome Ong

Sinasabing malaki ang naging impluwensya ng mga kaganapan sa hacienda ng Calamba mula 1887 hanggang 1891, sa katauhan, kaisipan, at pananaw ni Jose Rizal. Naging mahigpit na katunggali ni Jose Rizal at ng kanyang buong kaanak ang mga pangkat ng mga prayleng nagmamay-ari sa hacienda ng Calamba --- ang mga Dominikano --- na hahantong sa pagpapatapon sa ilang kaanak ni Rizal sa iba't ibang lugar sa Pilipinas hanggang sa sapilitang pagpapalayas mismo sa mga taga-Calamba.

Ang papel na ito ay nakatuon sa mga naging pagkilos na isinagawa ni Jose Rizal at mga naging reaksyon at saloobin ng pamilya Rizal ukol dito. Ang malaking bahagi ng pagtalakay na ito ay nakatuon sa pagbabasa ng mga liham ni Jose Rizal at ng kanyang mga kaanak sa bawat isa at maging sa mga malalapit na tao sa pamilya. Sa huli, nawa'y mapagtanto nating lahat ang kahalagahan ng pangyayaring ito sa buhay ni Jose Rizal at ang kaugnayan ng mga ito sa kanyang pagiging bayani.

KEYWORDS: Hacienda * Calamba * Dominicans * Inquilino * Emilio Terrero * Valeriano Weyler

Ang Sistema ng Hacienda

Ang mga mahahalagang pananim ng kapuluan ay kadalasang matatagpuan sa mga naglalakihang hacienda ng mga prayle. Sa madaling sabi, ang mga hacienda ay nagsisilbing pangunahing pang-ekonomikong tagapagtaguyod ng pamahalaang kolonyal sa Pilipinas. Dahil sa mga hacienda, nahikayat ang mga mestiso at mga kasama upang linangin ang mga malalawak na lupain. Noong mga panahong iyon, tila lumalabas na ang mga pangkat relihiyoso ay mayroon lamang kakarampot na interes sa lupa kung kaya't ang mga ito ay pinauupahan na lamang sa mga inquilino upang tamnan. Samantala, ang mga inquilinong ito ay siya namang kumukuha ng serbisyo ng mga kasama upang linangin ang mga lupang sakahan.

Ang Calamba noong 19 Dantaon

Ayon sa tala noong 1798, sinasabing ang bayan ng Calamba ay halos walang anumang pakinabang. Dahil dito, kakarampot din lamang ang mga taong naninirahan sa lugar. Noong 1818, ang bayan ay tinatayang mayroon lamang 1,675 katao. Nang lumaon, noong 1846 ay halos dumoble ang populasyon ng lugar.

Sa pagtatapos ng ika-labinsiyam na dantaon, ang bilang ng tao ay umabot ng halos triple ng populasyon ng 1846. Ang paglaki ng bilang ng mga nanirahan sa Calamba ay bunsod ng pagpasok ng mga mestisong tagapagtanim ng tubo buhat Biñan. Ang pangyayaring ito ay nagbigay-daan naman sa pagtungo ng mga tao rito sa Calamba upang magsaka at linangin ang lupa.

Ang mga Dominikano at ang Hacienda ng Calamba

Ang mga Dominikano ay isa sa mga pangkat relihiyosong nagmamay-ari ng mga malalawak na lupaing pansakahan. Sa katunayan, ang mga Dominikano ay nagtataglay ng tatlong hacienda sa Laguna. Kabilang dito ang Biñan, Calamba, at Santa Rosa.

Sinasabing ang orihinal na hacienda ng Calamba ay sumasaklaw lamang sa mismong bayan at bahagi ng baybayin ng look ng Laguna. Ang lupaing ito ay nakuha ng mga Heswita noong 1759 sa isang Español. Subalit bunsod ng pagpapaalis sa mga Heswita noong 1768, nang lumaon ang lupain ay nabiling muli ng isang Español na kanya namang ipinagbili sa mga Dominikano noong 1883 bago siya bawian ng buhay.

Makalipas lamang ang dalawang taon nang mabili ang hacienda, nagkaroon ng 48 inquilino ng palay at 17 inquilino ng asukal sa lupain. Ang palay ay itinatanim sa lugar na may patubig samantalang ang asukal ay sa mga katihan. Nang lumaon, dumami ang mga kasamang naging tagapagbungkal ng lupa. Sa pagbabayad ng kaukulang upa, ang para sa mga palayan ay nasa anyong salapi o palay; sa kabilang dako, ang para sa mga tubuhan ay kadalasang nasa anyong salapi lamang.

Ano ang pagkakaiba sa pamamahala ng hacienda sa ilalim ng dalawang orden? Sa ilalim ng mga Heswita, ang mga tao ay nagbabayad lamang ng buwis para sa lupang kinatitirikan ng kanilang tahanan. Sa paligid ng bayang hindi sakop ng mga Heswita, ang mga tao ay nagbabayad lamang para sa paggamit ng patubig. Sa kabilang banda, ang mga Dominikano ay naniningil ng buwis sa loob at labas ng kanilang lupain. Gayunpaman, sa kabila ng paglaki ng buwis na binabayad ng mga tao at nalilikom ng mga prayleng ito, nanatiling pareho lamang ang rentang ibinibigay ng mga Dominikano sa pamahalaan katulad noong panahon ng mga Heswita.

Pag-igting ng Sigalot sa Calamba

Bago pa man ang naganap na sigalot sa Calamba, noong 1883 ay ipinabatid na ni Paciano kay Jose Rizal ang hindi pagbibigay ng resibo ng tagapangasiwa ng hacienda para sa ibinabayad na upa ng mga inquilino. Noong 1885, bunsod ng di pagbabayad sa takdang panahon ng mga inquilino, ipinahayag ng mga Dominikanong bakante na ang buong hacienda samantalang hinikayat ang mga taga-ibayong bayan na maging inquilino sa Calamba. Gayunpaman, kakaunti lamang ang mga nahikayat na inquilino sa panahong ito.

Ang kaguluhan sa hacienda ay isang masalimuot na usapin. Samu't saring mga salik ang nakaapekto sa pagpapaigting ng mga kaganapan sa Calamba. Pangunahin sa mga ito ay ang pagbagsak ng halaga ng asukal sa pandaigdigang pamilihan sa kalagitnaan ng dekada 1880. Mismong sina Paciano at Jose Rizal ang nakapaglarawan sa kalagayang ito batay na rin sa kanilang mga liham. Bumaba rin ang ani sa hacienda bunsod ng mga naganap na pagbaha. Lumiit ang kita noong 1886 at dinoble ang bayad para sa upa nang sumunod na taon.

Samantala, sa gitna ng mga ito, tumaas naman ang upang ipinataw sa lupa. Sa huli, humiling si Gobernador-Heneral Emilio Terrero ng isang pagsisiyasat ukol sa mga upa ng mga hacienda sa kapuluan. Layunin nitong malaman ang tunay na kalagayang pang-ekonomiko ng bansa sa harap ng hindi pagtaas ng upang nalilikom ng pamahalaan. Habang patuloy na lumalawak ang mga pag-aaring lupain ng mga prayle ay hindi naman nadaragdagan ang upang binabayaran ng mga ito sa gobyerno.

Noong 1887, isang pagsisiyasat ang isinagawa ukol sa paglaki ng lupang sinasaka at mga aning palay at asukal sa hacienda sa loob ng nakaraang tatlong taon. Noong Disyembre 1887, ang gobernador-sibil ng Laguna ay opisyal na humiling sa mga taga-Calamba upang gumawa ng isang ulat. Noong Enero 1888 ay naghanda ng ulat ang mga taga-Calamba (sa pangunguna ni Jose Rizal) at nakatala rito ang hindi makatarungang pagtataas ng upa sa lupa at maling pagtutuos sa mga ani. Kaugnay pa nito ay ang madalas na pananakot sa mga taong sila ay papaalisin sa lupaing kanilang pinaninirahan.

Sa gitna ng mga kaguluhang ito, hiniling ng mga taga-Calamba sa gobernador-heneral na pangasiwaan ang pagbubuo ng isang bagong kasunduan sa pagitan ng mga prayle at inquilino. Ang kasulatang ito ay nilagdaan ng karamihan sa mga taga-Calamba. Bago pa man ito, noong Setyembre 1887 ay itinigil na ng mga inquilino ang pagbabayad ng upa sa lupa sa pangunguna na rin ng pamilya Rizal.

Sa kasamaang-palad, naantala ang pagdating ng kahilingang ito sa tanggapan ni Gobernador-Heneral Terrero. Sa katunayan, ang nasabing opisyal ay napalitan na ni Valeriano Weyler na naging maigting na katunggali ng pamilya Rizal at mga taga-Calamba sa pangkalahatan. Para kay Weyler, mahalaga ang mga prayle para sa mahigpit na pangangasiwa ng kolonya. Ang nasabing kahilingan ay kapagdakang tinutulan.

Mabilis at Marahas na Hakbangin

Bilang unang hakbang, nagsampa ng kasong sibil ang mga Dominikano sa Justicia de Paz ng Calamba upang mapaalis ang mga taga-Calamba. Natalo ang mga prayle sa unang pagkakataon dahil na rin daw diumano sa impluwensya ni Paciano Rizal. Gayunpaman, sa kanilang pag-apela sa Primera Instancia sa Santa Cruz, nanalo ang mga Dominikano. Noong Mayo 1888, ang mga taga-Calamba ay umapela naman sa Real Audiencia sa Maynila subalit sa kasawiang-palad sila ay natalo. Sa bandang huli, sila naman ay umapela sa Tribunal Suprema sa Madrid subalit hindi na hinintay pa ng mga prayle ang kapasyahan ng korte. Kanilang pinaalis ang mga inquilinong hindi nagbabayad ng upa, pinagiba ang mga kabahayan, pinigil ang pag-ani ng mga pananim, at inakusahan ang ilang mga tao bilang mga magnanakaw.

Noong Agosto 1890, sinimulan ang pagpapaalis sa mga taga-Calamba. Tinatayang 400 katao ang nawalan ng trabaho. Sa unang dalawang buwan ng 1891, umabot sa halos 300 ang nawalan ng tirahan. Ang iba ay nanirahan na lamang sa kalye, sa mga puno, at maging sa tabing-lawa. Ang mga sasakyang walang sapat na dokumento ay kadalasang hinaharang. Noong Oktubre 1891, nagpadala si Weyler ng isang malaking hukbo sa Calamba upang magsagawa ng mga karagdagang pagpapaalis. Sinasabing naging labis ang ginawang pagkilos ng mga Español sa pagkakataong ito. Ang hukbo ng mga Español ay binuo ng 300 artilyero, maliban pa sa 100 sundalong Pilipino at 200 kabalyeriya. Layunin nilang alisin diumano ang mga nanggugulo sa kapayapaan at kaayusan ng Calamba. Kinailangan din ang serbisyo ng ilang mga guwardia sibil buhat Biñan at Calauan.

Ano ang dahilan ng paggamit ng ganito kalaking puwersa sa Calamba sa mga panahong iyon? Ito ay upang muling ibangon ang tila nabuwal na dangal ng kolonyal na pamahalaan dulot ng pagsalungat ng mga taga-Calamba sa mismong kaayusan ng sistema. Ang kanilang isinagawang hakbangin, partikular sa paglilinaw ng pagmamay-ari ng hacienda, ay tila nagsilbing isang malaking insulto sa mismong batas at korte ng España.

Ang Pamilya Rizal

Sa gitna ng mainit na usaping ito, ano ang kinahitnan ng mga pangyayari para sa pamilya Rizal? Isa sa mga naging unang biktima ng kaganapang ito ay si Manuel Hidalgo, bayaw ni Rizal (asawa ni Saturnina), na ipinatapon sa Tagbilaran, Bohol noong 1888. Makalipas ang isang taon, muling ipinatapon si Hidalgo sa nasabing lugar.

Ang malaking bahagi ng kaalaman ukol sa naging epekto ng usapin ng Calamba sa mga Rizal ay matutunghayan sa mga liham ng mga kaanak ni Jose Rizal. Nagpatuloy ang pang-iilit sa mga kamag-anak ni Rizal at mga taga-Calamba. Ang mga naranasan ng mga Rizal sa Calamba ay tila nagbadya sa patuloy na kawalan ng pag-asa batay na rin sa mga salik na hindi kontrolado ng pamilya. Samantala, si Paciano Rizal ay isinangkot sa mga elementong nanggugulo sa kaayusan sa lipunan sa pamamagitan diumano ng pagbibigay armas sa mga tulisan.

Samantala, sina Paciano Rizal, Silvestre Ubaldo, at Antonino Lopez ay ipinatapon naman sa Calapan, Mindoro noong 1890. Nagpatuloy ang sapilitang paghihiwa-hiwalay ng mga miyembro ng pamilya Rizal bunsod ng mga pangyayari. Walang puknat ang pang-aaping dinanas ng mga taga-Calamba sa kamay ng mga maykapangyarihan.

Marahil ang pinakamatindi sa lahat ng mga naging hakbangin ng pamahalaan ay ang isinagawang pagpapalayas sa mga taga-Calamba noong mga unang buwan ng 1891. Mababasa sa liham ni Narcisa kay Jose Rizal noong Marso 1891 ang mga kabuktutang naranasan ng mga tao sa araw ng pagpapaalis sa kanila. Kinuha ang kanilang mga ari-arian samantalang ang iba ay dumanas ng pagmamaltrato at pananakit mula sa mga otoridad. Noong Nobyembre 1891, 25 katao ang itinakdang itapon sa Jolo sa Mindanao.[1] Sa huli, isang amnestiya ang iginawad ni Alfonso XIII ng España sa mga taong ito. Noong Marso 1892, pinatawad na raw diumano ng mga Dominikano ang mga nanggulo sa Calamba.

Mga Resulta ng Kaguluhan

Maituturing na naging marahas ang mga naging hakbangin ng kolonyal na pamahalaan sa mga taga-Calamba. Ang mga naging pagkilos ng gobyerno ay siya namang tinuligsa ng pahayagang La Solidaridad, partikular ang pagpapaalis sa mga tao at ang pagpapatapon sa mga malalayong lugar. Noong Enero 1892, ang Asociacion Hispano-Filipina ay nagsagawa ng isang pagpupulong upang maghanda ng isang reklamo hinggil sa mga kaganapan sa Calamba na siya namang ihaharap sa Ministerio de Ultramar.

Samantala, para kay Rizal, kanyang iminungkahing iakyat ang kaso sa Tribunal Suprema sa Madrid kung sakaling matalo ito sa Real Audiencia sa Maynila. Sinasabi ring nakapagpabago ito sa isip ni Rizal mula sa pagiging isang repormista patungo sa pagiging radikal. Ang kanyang La Liga Filipina ay naglayong pag-isahin ang kapuluang malaya at hiwalay sa España. Bunsod din nito, isang pamayanang Pilipino sa Borneo (Kalimantan) ang kanyang binalak itatag habang siya ay nasa Hong Kong mula Nobyembre 1891. Sa katunayan, si

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[1] Kabilang dito sina Francisco Mercado, Paciano Rizal, at Silvestre Ubaldo na nakatakas patungong Hong Kong. Sina Josefa, Lucia, Trinidad, at Doña Teodora ay sumunod sa Hong Kong bago matapos ang buwan ng Disyembre 1891.

Rizal ay nakipagkita na sa mga pinuno ng Sandakan upang pag-usapan ang bagay na ito. Sa huli, hindi pinahintulutan ni Gobernador-Heneral Eulogio Despujol ang proyektong na ito.

Pagtatapos

Ang sigalot sa Calamba ay naging isang mainit na isyu hindi lamang dahil sa pagtaas ng upa sa lupa kundi maging dahil sa pagmamay-ari ng lupa ng mga prayle. Ang mga isinagawang mararahas na pagkilos sa Calamba ay isang pagpapakita lamang kung sino ang patuloy na naghahari sa lipunan sa mga panahong iyon. Patunay nito ang paggamit ng malaking pwersa sa pagpapalayas ng mga tao sa lugar at ang pagpapatapon sa mga tao kung sa pananaw ng mga kinauukulan ay nararapat. Sa panig ng mga katutubo, lalo lamang nitong pinaigting at pinagtibay ang damdaming laban sa mga prayle at sa mga Español sa pangkalahatan. Para kay Jose Rizal, ang madilim na kaganapan at yugtong ito sa Calamba ay nagdulot ng matinding impluwensya sa kanyang mga ginawang kapasyahan sa mga susunod na panahon.

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"EL AMOR PATRIO" Rizal's Blueprint for Patriotism

Celestina Boncan

There is always one or the other characteristic or aspect that distinguishes the literary works of Rizal. For example, in "A la juventud Filipina," Rizal tells the Filipino youth of their role in the future of the country. In his "Por la educacion recibe lustre la patria," Rizal talks about how education enlightens the citizenry.

"El Amor Patrio" has its own distinguishable characteristic. It was the first written by Rizal outside of the Philippines. He wrote it in June 1882, shortly after arriving in Barcelona, his first foothold in Spain. This article dwells into what it was that preoccupied the mind of Rizal when he disembarked in Barcelona, a first-time traveler to the much larger world of Europe.

KEYWORDS: Patriotism * A las flores del Heidelberg * Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Lupa

In the "El Amor Patrio," Rizal expressed the feeling that all travelers feel when they leave the country for the very first time. Rizal felt a great nostalgia for the Philippines which he says:

> *... is not surprising, because it is a very natural feeling; because there in our country are our first memories of childhood, a merry ode, known only in childhood, from whose races spring forth the flower of innocence and happiness*

Four years later, in 1886, when he was in Heidelberg, nostalgia remained in Rizal's whole being, even more intense at this time. Despite the beauty and great renown of Heidelberg, Rizal felt so lonely. To ease his loneliness, Rizal wrote on April 22, 1886 a poem that he entitled "A las flores del Heidelberg." In the poem, Rizal called upon the flowers that bloomed all over Heidelberg in the early spring to:

"... Go to my country ...
Tell them about the faith
For his native land, the pilgrim sighs

"... Go ye and say ...
You saw him silent beside
You thinking of your constant springtime

"... Say thou that when the breeze ...
To you murmurs songs of love a-playing
He too was murmuring
Songs of romance in his native accent
"... And when the sun gilds the spire ...
He salutes that sun at its beginning
Which in his land at zenith fulgurates"

Rizal describes the irony of this longing for the native land:

> *... engendering a pleasant feeling of well-being when we are in our country, or deep melancholy when we are far away from her*

Rizal says that it is but natural that his first thoughts should of the country that he just left, comparing himself "with the ancient Hebrew who offered in the temple the first fruits of their love," so that

> *... we in foreign land will dedicate our first utterances to our country, enveloped in morning clouds and mist, always beautiful and poetic, and more idolized by her sons when they are absent and far away from her.*

Rizal says that one misses one's country when he is far away because:

> *... you see there with the eyes of your imagination, under the tranquil roof of your old home, a family who remembers you and awaits you, thinking of you and worrying about you; in short, because in her sky, in her sun, in her seas, and in her forests, you find poetry, tenderness and love and even in the cemetery there is a humble tomb awaiting you to return you to the soil.*

Rizal says that love for one's country is universal. It is a feeling that is in the heart of every one:

> *Learned man, poet, artist, laborer, merchant, or soldier, old or young, king or slave --- all have pondered on it and devoted to it the most valued fruits of their intelligence, or of their hearts. From the cultured European, free and proud of his glorious history, to the African Negro dragged out of his forests and sold for a paltry sum; from ancient peoples whose*

> *shadows still hover over their somber ruins --- the tombs of their glories and sufferings --- to the modern nations, full of activity and life, all have had and have an idol whom they call the Motherland --- beautiful, brilliant, sublime*

And this love for one's country, according to Rizal, is a love that never fades:

> *because under whatever aspect she (native country) may appear, whether she is dressed in purple, crowned with flowers and laurels, powerful and rich; whether she is sorrowful and solitary, clad in rags, and a slave; whether she is a nymph in a pleasant garden beside the blue waves of the sea, gracious and beautiful as a dream of deluded youth, whether she is enveloped in a shroud of snow, sitting on the ends of the earth under a sunless and starless sky; whatever her name, her age, or her fortune might be, we love her always, as the child loves his mother even in the midst of hunger and misery.*

Love of country is never forgotten, Rizal says, for it is there from the moment we are born until we die:

> *We are born, then grow up, we get old and we die with this pious sentiment. It is perhaps the most constant if there is constancy in the hearts of men, and it seems that it does not abandon us even in our very tombs.*

Rizal says that love of country is fortified because of tender remembrances:

> *... it is the land where our ancestors are sleeping; it is the temple where we have worshipped God with the candor of babbling*

> *childhood; it is the sound of the church bell which has delighted us since a child;*

and fortified too by the beauty of the land of our birth:

> *... they are the vast fields, the blue lake, the picturesque banks of the river which we pass by in a nimble little boat; the limpid brook which laves the cheerful little house nestling among flowers like a love-nest; or the tall mountains which inspire us this pleasant sentiment*

Rizal looks back to the past and says many men have fought in the name of one's country:

> *... what dramas, what tragedies, what martyrdom have not been enacted for the welfare of that inexorable divinity who has nothing to give you in return for your children but gratitude and blessings! And notwithstanding, with the pieces of their hearts they raise glorious monuments to their Motherland; with the work of their hands with the sweat of their brow, they have sprinkled and made fruitful her sacred tree, and neither have they expected nor received any reward.*

Rizal ponders on the reason for this and asks:

> *... Is it because love of country is the purest, most heroic, and most sublime human sentiment?*

When he says that love of country is the purest, most heroic, and most sublime human sentiment, Rizal antedates by thirteen years one other hero contemporary who also dealt on this matter. This hero contemporary is none other than Andres Bonifacio who wrote the verse about love of country which he called "Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Lupa."

Aling pag-ibig pa	*Is there any love*
ang hihigit kaya	*that is nobler*
sa pagkadalisay at	*Purer and more sublime*
pagkadakila	*Than the love*
gaya ng pag-ibig	*for the motherland*
sa sariling lupa?	
Aling pag-ibig pa	*What love is?*
Wala na nga, wala	*Certainly none*

Such is the power of love of country that one would rather die nowhere else but in his native land: He cites the great Napoleon Bonaparte, the conqueror of Europe who:

> *...seeing dimly the dark bottom of the grave, remembers his France whom he loved extremely, and in his exile, he entrusts to her his remains, confident that he will find more comforting rest in her midst.*

Rizal cites also the great Roman poet, Ovid, who cherished death nowhere else but in his beloved Rome:

> *... divining that not even his ashes would return to Rome, dying on the shores of the Black Sea, consoled himself with the thought that if not he, at least his verses would reach the Capitol.*

Man may lose sight of and forget his native land but according to Rizal, the Motherland, will never forget her sons:

> *You who have lost the ideals of your souls, you, who, with wounded hearts have seen your illusions disappear one by one, and like the trees in autumn you find yourselves without flowers and without leaves, and desirous of loving, find no one worthy of you, there you have the Motherland.*

Rizal's message to his countrymen in "El Amor Patrio" is clear:

> ***let us love her (Motherland) always and let us wish nothing but her welfare.***

Conclusion

"El Amor Patrio" is Rizal's blueprint for patriotism. It can also be the blueprint of patriotism of each and every Filipino of any generation.

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“ANG KATAMARAN NG MGA PILIPINO”

Isang Maikling Komentaryo

Jerome Ong

Ang sanaysay na ito ay sinulat ni Jose Rizal bilang tugon sa paulit-paulit na pagbatikos at pagpuna ng mga Español ukol sa pagiging tamad diumano ng mga katutubo. Ang akda ay paisa-isang nailathala sa La Solidaridad, ang opisyal na pahayagan ng mga Propagandista sa España, mula ika-15 ng Hulyo hanggang ika-1 ng Setyembre 1890. Ito ay sinulat ni Rizal sa España sa panahon ng kanyang ikalawang pagtungo sa Europa.

Ang katamarang tinalakay ay hindi tinutulan ng may-akda; bagkus, ito ay kanyang inamin na isang katotohanan. Subalit sa likod nito ay nagbigay siya ng mga mahahalagang kadahilanan kung bakit lumala ang ganitong uri ng katangian.

KEYWORDS: Katamaran (Indolence)

Maikling Buod

Pangunahin sa mga kadahilanang tinalakay sa sanaysay ay ang klima ng ating kapuluan. Ang pagkakaroon ng mainit na singaw ng panahon sa mga tropikal na bansa ay nagdudulot ng ganitong uri ng katangian para sa mga katutubo. Inihambing ni Rizal ang klima sa Europa kung saan malamig ang panahon at nangangailangan ng madalas na pagkilos ng mga tao upang mainitan ang kanilang mga katawan. Sa kabilang dako, maging ang kaunting paggalaw ng mga tao sa isang mainit na lugar tulad ng Pilipinas ay nagdudulot sa kanila ng matinding pagpapawis at dagliang pagkapagod. Pinuna rin ni Rizal ang mga maling halimbawang ipinapamalas ng mga Europeano sa mga katutubo, tulad ng pagkuha ng kanilang tagapaypay at tagahugot ng kanilang mga sapatos. Madalas din silang nakasakay sa mga karwahe, masarap ang kanilang mga pagkain, at maginhawa ang kanilang pamumuhay. Sa kabilang dako, ang lahat ng mga ito ay taliwas sa kalagayan ng mga kaawa-awang katutubo.

Ang mga patakaran ng pamahalaan ay nakapagpalala pang lalo sa katamaran ng mga katutubo. Si Rizal ay nagbigay ng mga halimbawa mula sa mga akdang isinulat ng mga sinaunang Español upang patunayang iba ang katangiang ipinamalas ng mga tao noon at mga tao sa kanyang panahon. Ang pagkakaroon ng industriya, kalakalan, at agrikultura noong sinaunang panahon ay nagpapakita lamang ng kasipagan at pagsisikap ng mga katutubo. Subalit sa kasamaang palad, ang epekto ng kolonyalismo at pakikidigma ay pumatay sa maraming aspeto ng pamumuhay ng mga tao. Napabayaan ang mga industriya, naputol ang ating ugnayan sa mga karatig-bansa (halimbawa ay Siam, Cambodia, at Japan), at nawala ang kalakalan dahil na rin sa pamimirata. Naging matindi rin ang katiwalian sa gobyerno samantalang naging mapanupil ang mga patakaran para sa mga bagong sakop. Nakasama rin ang pagtangkilik ng pamahalaan sa mga gawaing tulad ng sugal at sabong na pangunahing umaasa sa kapalaran ng isang mananaya. Ang pamahalaan ay hindi rin nagkakaloob ng suporta sa mga panahong nagkakaroon ng mga pinsala ng balang at bagyo upang matulungan sana ang mga magsasaka. Dagdag pa rito ang katotohanang ang pinakamahuhusay na lupa ay nasa kamay ng mga prayle. Nanatili ring walang dignidad ang edukasyong inihatid ng estado sa mga mag-aaral. Nagpatuloy din lamang ang panggigipit na isinagawa sa mga katutubo --- mula sa kamay ng mga pirata, tulisan, encomendero, at gobernador. Sa huli, naging tamad ang mga katutubo dahil sa kawalang katiyakan ng buhay dulot ng mga pag-aalsa, mga digmaang walang kabuluhan, mga pamimirata, at pang-aabuso ng mga ospisyal.

Naging kasangkapan din sa pagpapaigting ng ganitong suliranin ang maling turo ng relihiyon. Sino ang gaganahang magtrabaho kung ang turo ng kura ay hindi raw makakapasok sa langit ang mga taong mayayaman? Gayundin, ang samu't saring hamon sa buhay ay patuloy na iniaasa sa bisa ng mga panalangin, misa, at nobena. Maging ang salapi ng mga katutubo ay tila nakalaan upang ipambili ng mga kandila at iskapularyo, at gayundin bilang donasyon sa simbahan.

Sa panig ng mga katutubo, dalawa sa mga salik na nagbigay-daan upang tumindi ang ganitong uri ng problema ay ang kahinaan ng edukasyong natamo at ang kawalan ng pambansang pagkakaisa. Sa unang salik, maliwanag ang patuloy na pagpapababa sa kakayahan ng isang katutubo habang ipinagduduldulan sa kanya ang kahinaan ng kanyang lahi. Naging mababa ang kanyang pagtingin sa sarili o kung hindi man ay nawalan na siya ng tiwala sa kanyang sarili. Ipinagwalang bahala na niya ang larangan ng paggawa. Samantala, ang ikalawang salik ay dulot naman ng kawalan ng mga samahan upang ang mga tao ay magkaroon sana ng pagkakataong makipag-unawaan at magkaisa ng damdamin.

Komentaryo

"*Ang isang tao'y maaaring mabuhay kahit saan kung sisikapin lamang niyang ibagay ang kanyang sarili sa hinihingi ng pangangailangan.*"

Para sa isang mambabasang Español, lubhang napakatalas ang mga salitang binitiwan ni Jose Rizal sa akdang nabanggit. Maliwanag ang pangunahing kaisipan ng sanaysay: walang duda na ang pagtindi ng katamaran ng mga katutubo ay epekto ng kolonyalismong Español. Ang katamarang ito ay palagiang taglay ng isang tao; subalit ang mas malaking suliranin ay kung ang katangiang ito ay patuloy na paiigtingin sa loob ng bawat indibidwal --- na siya namang ginawa ng mga dayuhan sa Pilipinas.

Maliwanag na ang katamaran ay lumala sa pagdaan ng mahabang panahong pamamalagi ng mga dayuhan sa kapuluan at dahil na rin sa epekto ng maling pangangasiwa at pagka-atrasado ng bansa. Tumpak si Jose Rizal sa pagsasabing ang tao at ang pamahalaan ay mayroong direktang ugnayan. Ang kahinaan ng estado ay masasalamin sa kahinaan ng kanyang mamamayan. Para sa pamahalaan, nararapat na walang balakid sa pagkatuto ng mamamayan. Linangin ang kaisipan para sa kaunlaran.

Para sa mga katutubo, mistulang iniukol nila ang kanilang buhay sa pagbibigay ng salapi sa simbahan para sa pinakahihintay na mga himala. Tuluyan na ngang nagayuma ang kanilang kalooban. Tumamlay ang kanilang pagsisikap dahil sa pag-aatubii at pag-aalinlangan.

Ang tao ay hindi hayop o makina. Hangad nilang makamit ang kaligayahan para sa kanilang mga sarili at hindi upang ibigay lamang ito sa ibang tao. Wasto ang paniniwala sa kakayahan ng Maykapal subalit huwag iasa ang lahat sa Kanya lalo't kaya namang gawin ang nararapat at makagawa ng pagbabagong mahusay.

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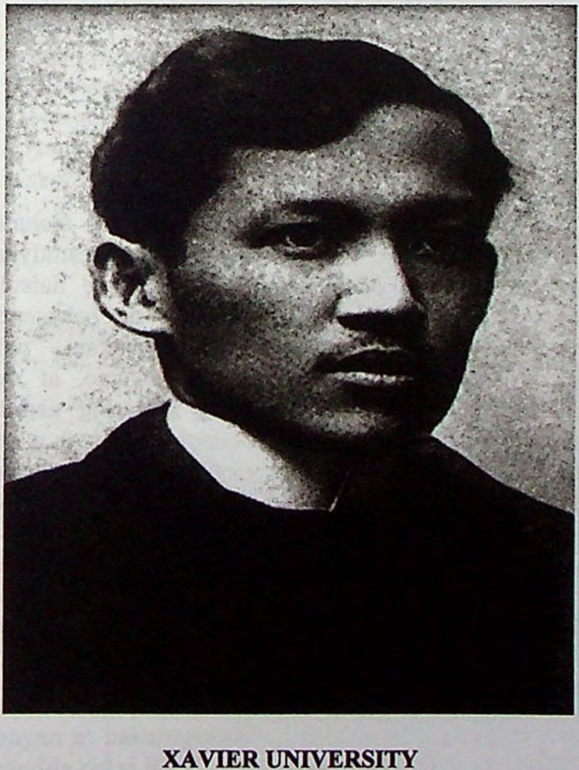

XAVIER UNIVERSITY
Cagayan de Oro City
December 9, 2008

UNTI-UNTI AKONG NAGBAGO: Ang Buhay-Estudyante ni Rizal sa Ateneo

Jonathan Balsamo

Nais bigyang-pansin ng papel ang isang mahalagang bahagi sa buhay ni Rizal -— ang kanyang buhay-estudyante sa paaralang Ateneo de Manila. Marami na ang naisulat at tumalakay sa buhay at kaisipan ni Rizal na nakasentro sa kanyang kadakilaan bilang manunulat, makata, palaisip, makabayan, siyentipiko, henyo, bayani, makatao, at marami pang iba. Marahil, isang pamamaraang maaaring gamitin sa pagtuturo ng Rizal ay ang muli kilalanin si Rizal o muling ipakilala si Rizal sa mga estudyante sa ibang aspekto o pagtingin: hindi bilang isang "bayaning binaril sa Luneta, mapagmasid na manlalakbay, mahusay na manunulat, maipagmamalaking alagad ng sining, mapagkawanggawang doktor, o bilang *The Great Jose Rizal*." Maaari din tingnang muli si Rizal bilang isang mag-aaral --- bilang isang *high school student* sa paaralang Ateneo de Municipal de Manila sa ikalawang hati ng ikalabingsiyam na dantaon.

KEYWORDS: Ateneo de Manila * High School * Memorias de estudiante de Manila * Jesuits

"Sa tulong ng pag-aaral, ng pagsusuri sa aking sarili, ng paghahangad sa dako pa roon at ng libong pagwawasto, ay unti-unti akong nagbago, salamat sa makabuluhang tulong ng isang mapagmalasakit na guro."

Jose Rizal, 1879

teacher: pedro, kilala mo ba si jose rizal?
pedro: hindi po...
teacher: juan, kilala mo ba si jose rizal?
juan: hindi rin po..
teacher: (naiinis na) walang nakakakilala sa inyo kay jose rizal???
ramon: ma'am baka po sa kabilang section sya!!!

-**Bbbbbb** (Dec 19, 2006)

pinoyexchange.com

Panimula: Sino ba si Rizal?

Sa loob at labas ng paaralan, mula elementarya hanggang kolehiyo, masasabing gasgas na pangalan na para sa mga mag-aaral, maging sa ating mga guro, ang pangalang Jose Rizal. Pinag-aaralan natin si Rizal —- ang kanyang buhay, mga akda at kaisipan sa paniniwalang may mahalagang ibubunga ang mga ito sa ating sarili at sa ating bayan. Nakapaloob dito ang pag-unlad, paglawak at paglalim ng ating kaalaman at kamalayan sa ating kasaysayan at kalinangan na mahahalagang sangkap sa'ting pagkahubog bilang ganap na mga Filipinong makabayan at nakapag-aambag sa kaunlaran ng bayan. Isa pa, ibinabandila rin si Rizal, upang tugunan ang paghahanap ng mga kabataan ng modelong magsisilbing inspirasyon nila sa kasalukuyan.

Magandang mga layunin ito. Subalit ito nga ba talaga ang tunay na nagaganap at ating nakakamit sa pagtuturo ng Rizal? Sino nga ba si Rizal sa pananaw ng mga kabataang Filipino sa kasalukuyan? Nagtutugma nga ba ang ating mga layunin sa pagtuturo nito sa tunay na "natutunan" o "nahuhubog" natin sa ating mga mag-aaral?

Sa internet, may isang *site* na naglalaman ng isang *discussion thread* sa paksang: **"Sino ba si Rizal sa inyo?"**[1] Makikita natin sa mga tugon sa tanong na ito ang antas, himig at pananaw ng mga Filipino kay Rizal sa ngayon:

- **flimmeryrose741** (Jul 14, 2006): *One of the greatest doctor in the Philippine History.*
- **Cashwriters** (Jul 14, 2006): *I'm not sure. He had a lot of contradictions. There's also many open questions about him: Was he working for better treatment of Pinoys as SPANISH SUBJECTS? Or was he working for independence? Did his concerns against Spain grow out of an outrage against oppression of the WHOLE Filipino people (regardless of class) or was it the rage of a privileged few (ilustrado)? Why was HE (instead of Bonifacio and others) picked by the AMERICANS as Filipinos' hero? What ideological or colonial benefits did his designation as "hero" confer on the American colonial administration?*
- **Jazzy** (Jul 14, 2006): *Isang inspirasyon*

.

- **flimmeryrose741** (Jul 16, 2006): *Bakit nga ba si Rizal ang hero natin? Hindi lang naman siya yung matalino that time, diba? He did publish some books para maging open-minded*

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[1] Makikita sa: http://www.pinoyexchange.com/forums/archive/index.php/t-247161.html. Pansinin lamang na karamihan sa mga ito ay tinig ng mga kabataan/estudyanteng nasa unibersidad at may kapasidad at kaalaman sa paggamit ng internet. Kaya't hindi rin masasabing ito ang umiiral na pananaw ng buong kabataang Filipino.

- *ang mga pinoy, pero yun din naman ang ginawa ng iba ha? Why not Bonifacio? He died to save us...I forgot na the history pero cashwriter meron kang point..*

.

- **SoliduS_AlphA** (Jul 16, 2006): *Ang alam ko lang Avenida Rizal.*

- **Keener** (Jul 16, 2006): *If there's something that I learned from my Rizal class now in college, it is that Rizal NEVER asked for freedom from the Spaniards. He was asking for ASSIMILATION. He wanted the Philippines to be a PROVINCE OF SPAIN, NOT establish an independent state.*

- **Lilsue** (Jul 16, 2006): *a guy who wrote el fili and noli mi...that's it!*

- **flimmeryrose741**(Jul 17, 2006): *oh.. so that means.. ayaw niya pala maging free ang philippines? so gusto niya pala na maging parte ng Spain ang Philippines? What a hypocite!!!!!! So akala niya talaga that hindi uulad ang bayan natin without Spain? I think I have read a diary of Rizal. Tapos, I think na he really praised the other countries.. he likes america though. Bonifacio should be the hero.. .Rizal is a jerk,,*

- **rev4maite** (Jul 18, 2006) ^^ *correct... hindi dpat c Rizal ang pambansang bayani dahil: 1). Babaero 2). Did he really fought for philippine freedom, 3) as far as i know, ang gusto*

  lang nya ay maging pantay ang mga filipino sa mga spanish. what if mahirap c Rizal at nde nkapag-aral? will he still be the National Hero? I guess not...

.

- **PsychoticGnome** (Jul 18, 2006): *I had the privilege of having Rizal scholar Ambeth Ocampo as my history teacher, who I learned so much from. / Actually, it seems that Rizal was never a great doctor. After he operated on her, she lost her sight completely instead of regaining some of it. He also tried to deliver his pregnant sister's baby. The sister died in* *childbirth, the baby died soon after. Some great doctor, huh? :rolleyes: / But medicine was not Rizal's first love. The only reason he went into it at all was to try and cure his mom (and he did try, to be fair). :D Rizal's strengths were not in the sciences but in the arts. He was a damn good writer, argumentator, and thinker. If you ever get the chance to see Rizal's grades in Ateneo (Bachelor of Arts) and UST (Medicine), you will see a sharp contrast between the two. :*

- **Sideline** (Jul 25, 2006): *si rizal ang dahilan kaya naging 3rd world country ang pilipinas.. kung ang pilipinas ay nasa kamay ng mga japanese or spanish malamang hindi ganun kahirap ang buhay ng mga pilipino ngayon..*

.

- ***Kensamor** (Jul 26, 2006) Sabi ng teacher ko dati, naging national hero si Rizal dahil sa mga Kano. Medyo malabo nga sa akin kung ano ba talaga nagawa nya para sa Pinas. Ilang wika ba talaga ang fluent sya. Baka naman nakakapagsalita lang sya ng kaunti*

- ***Greenlaser** (Nov 21, 2006) Matapos nating suriin at pag-aralan ang kanyang buhay at gawa, marami pa rin sa atin ang nagtatanong kung sino nga ba si Jose Rizal? / Napanood na rin natin ang mga pelikula tungkol sa kanyang buhay (Rizal sa Dapitan, Jose Rizal, Bayaning Third World), mandin ay napanood na rin ang mga dulang pang entablado base sa kanyang buhay at gawa (gaya halimbawa Noli Me Tangere at El Fili - The Musical, Sino Ka Ba Jose Rizal - The Musical, Ilustrado at iba pa)....Pero bakit nga ba*

- *nagtatanong pa rin tayo kung sino si ba talaga si Jose Rizal? / Totoong tao ba talaga si Jose Rizal, tunay nga ba siyang bayani? O isa lang siyang alamat? Ano nga ba?*

- ***Greenlaser** (Nov 22, 2006): Para yatang hindi maka-relate ang maraming Pilipino kay Jose Rizal. Kaya siguro maraming nagtatanong kung sino talaga siya.*

- **Leporidae** (Nov 22, 2006): Siya ang taong nagsulat ng mga librong kinainisan ko.

- **Bail** (Nov 24, 2006): *si Rizal? Daddy ni Adolf Hitler:)*

- **ruger97** (Jan 29, 2007) *hmm... just a historical character. frankly speaking, i am more at ease with Bonifacio as our national hero. but then like everything in the Philippines, politics got in the way. the man who got him killed even became the first prez. Although to JR's credit, he inspired Bonifacio. mabuhay ang masa!*

- **Mutatedman** (Feb 4, 2007): *Si Rizal ay hero, though mas kinikilala ko Boni as the national hero. Well, in my opinion naging siya lang naman ang National hero kasi mas good influence sya kesa kay Boni, sino nga ba naman ang gusto nating gayahin ng mga kabataan? diba? eh di yung nag susulat gamit pluma kesa sa nananaga>l*

- **567ingcognito** (Feb 7, 2007) *over rated!*

May ipinahihiwatig ang mga tugon at tinig na ito sa umiiral na estado ng pagtuturo at pag-aaral ng kasaysayan sa ating mga paaralan. At sa ating pagtalakay at pag-unawa sa kung papaano nga ba mapagbubuti ang pagtuturo ng kasaysayan at kaalaman ukol kay Rizal, maituturing ang mga sagot sa itaas na kontekstong maaari nating galawan at pagsimulan ng ating susunod na mga hakbang.

Sa papel na ito, nais kong bigyang-pansin ang isang mahalagang bahagi sa buhay ni Rizal -— ang kanyang buhay-estudyante sa paaralang Ateneo de Manila. Marami na ang naisulat at tumalakay sa buhay at kaisipan ni Rizal na nakasentro sa kanyang kadakilaan bilang manunulat, makata, palaisip, makabayan, siyentipiko, henyo, bayani, makatao, at marami pang iba. Marahil, isang pamamaraang maari nating gamitin sa ating pagtuturo ng Rizal ay ang muli nating kilalanin si Rizal o muli nating ipakilala si Rizal sa ating mga estudyante sa ibang aspekto o pagtingin: hindi lagi-lagi bilang isang "bayaning binaril sa Luneta, mapagmasid na manlalakbay, mahusay na manunulat, maipagmamalaking alagad ng sining, mapagkawanggawang doktor, o bilang *The Great Jose Rizal*." Maaari nating tingnang muli si Rizal bilang isang mag-aaral --- bilang isang *high school student* sa paaralang Ateneo de Municipal de Manila sa ikalawang hati ng ikalabingsiyam na dantaon.

Sa ganitong pagtingin, maipakikilala natin si Rizal sa mga mag-aaral hindi sa tradisyunal na paraan ng paglalarawan sa kanya bilang isang napakagaling na bayaning tila kayhirap abutin, kundi bilang isang estudyanteng tulad nila, na nag-aral nang mabuti, nagsuri ng sarili at kumilos para makatulong sa kapwa-Filipinong dumaranas ng paghihirap at kawalang-kalayaan sa sariling bayan.

Anu-ano ang mga naging karanasan ng nagbibinatang Rizal sa Ateneo noon?

Paano siya hinubog ng mga Heswita sa loob ng isang kapaligirang kolonyal?

Anu-ano marahil ang mga naging epekto o impluwensiya kay Rizal ng kanyang edukasyon sa Ateneo?

Pangunahing batis sa papel na ito ang naitalang alaala ni Rizal noong panahon ng kanyang kabataan bilang mag-aaral, ang *Memorias de estudiante de Manila*. Dito makikita natin ang mga natatangi at madamdaming karanasan na pinagdaanan ng batang Jose Rizal sa Ateneo --- ang kanyang mga suliranin, kalungkutan, kasiyahan, pakiramdam, maging ang lalim ng kanyang pananampalataya bilang Kristiyano. Sa nasusulat na gunita na ito ni Rizal, mauunawaan nating ang mga "pagbabago" at "paghubog" na pinagdaanan niya sa Ateneo bilang mag-aaral ang nagsilbing pundasyon ng kanyang kabanalan, kagalingan at kabayanihan.

Isinulat ni Rizal ang kanyang *Memorias de estudiante de Manila*[1] (Mga Alaala ng Isang Mag-aaral sa Maynila) sa loob ng tatlong taon: mula 1878 hanggang 1881[2]. Sa papel na ito, ang pagbabatayang teksto ay ang salin sa Filipino na may karagdagang ilang mga tala na nakapaloob sa unang tomong mga "tinipon" na "mga sinulat ni Jose Rizal" na inilathala ng Pambansang Komisyon ng Ikasandaang Taon ni Jose Rizal noong 1961.[3]

Iminumungkahi rin ang pagsangguni sa mga nalathalang pag-aaral at pagsusuri ng mga Pilipinong Heswita ukol sa buhay at kaisipan ng dakilang alumnus ng Ateneo.

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[1] Ayon kay Ambeth Ocampo, ang orihinal na manuskrito ng akdang ito ni Rizal ay nasa pag-iingat ng Pambansang Aklatan. Ang buong dokumento ay binubuo ng 42 pahinang nasusulat sa "straight and even handwriting" ni Rizal. Dagdag pa ni Ocampo, "If Filipinos read this piece of juvenilia, instead of the dozens of books written by adoring biographers, they would know and appreciate Rizal better." (Nasa: Ambeth Ocampo, Meaning and History: The Rizal Lectures, pp. 41-42). Ayon naman kay Austin Coates: "isa itong akdang imatyur, sinulat noong bago siya magdalawampu, subalit nagbibigay ng impresyon kung ano siya noong gulang na iyon." Sa pabalat ng sulating ito, "P.Jacinto" ang nakasulat na pangalan ng may-akda. Hinala ni Leon Ma. Guerrero: Ito ba si Padre Jacinto Febres, ang dating Heswitang propesor ni Rizal sa Ateneo?

[2] May karagdagang kabanata na isinulat si Rizal sa Heidelberg noong 1886 ayon kay Ambeth Ocampo. (Ambeth Ocampo, Meaning and History, p. 43).

[3] Ang pamagat ng bolyum na ito ay: **Mga Tala sa Paglalakbay, Mga Alaala at iba pa.** Hindi nakasaad kung sino ang pangunahing nagsawa ng pagsasalin liban sa pangalan ng tatlong taong bumubuo sa "Lupong Tagapagsalin sa Wikang Pambansa," sina: Agapito Cruz, Leonardo Dianzon at Vicente de Jesus.

Pinag-aralan ni P. Raul Bonoan, S.J. ang *academic record* ni Rizal sa Ateneo.[1] Gayundin ang nagbagong mukha ni Rizal bilang *pious Calambeno boy studying.. at Ateneo* at *rationalist physician-philosopher.. in Dapitan*[2] upang higit na maunawaan ang pulitika at pananampalataya ng Atenistang Rizal. Naging paksa naman ng isang lektura ni P. Miguel Bernad,S.J. ang kaugnayan at pakikipag-ugnayan ni Rizal sa mga Heswita[3] mula nang unang tanggihang tanggapin bilang mag-aaral ang batang Jose Rizal sa Ateneo hanggang sa kanyang huling sulyap sa paaralan na may masayang paggunita bago niya harapin ang kanyang kamatayan sa Bagumbayan.

Sapagkat isang mahalagang yugto sa buhay ng bayani ang paksa ng papel na ito, minabuting tingnan din ang mga talakay sa buhay-estudyante ni Rizal sa mga pag-aaral na may pangkabuuang pag-unawa sa buong buhay ni Rizal. Ginamit bilang batis at sanggunian dito ang dalawang iginagalang na biograpiya ni Rizal: ang **The First Filipino**[1] ni Leon Ma. Guerrero at ang **Rizal: Makabayan at Martir**[2] na salin sa Filipino ni Nilo Ocampo ng *Rizal: Nationalist and Martyr* ni Austin Coates.

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[1] Raul J. Bonoan, S.J. "Rizal's Record at the Ateneo" *Philippine Studies* vol. 27, no. 1 (1979) 53–73.

[2] Raul Bonoan, SJ. "Ateneo and Dapitan: The Faces of Rizal." Nalathala sa Heights 43, no. 4 (1996): 15-20. Makikita rin sa Soledad Reyes (ed.) "Light to the World. The Vision of Fr. Raul Bonoan, SJ". Quezon City: Office of Research and Publications, Ateneo de Manila University, 2000. pp. 269-277.

[3] Miguel A. Bernad, SJ. "Rizal and the Jesuits, A Triple Paradox." Lektura sa Ateneo de Manila University at Xavier University noong 2000. Nalathala sa Kinaadman XXIII at kabilang sa koleksiyon ng kanyang mga akda kay Rizal na "The Native Sky. Studies in the Life and Writings of Jose Rizal" (Quezon City: Office of Research and Publications, Ateneo de Manila University, 2004.)

Sa pamosong talambuhay ni Rizal na "The First Filipino" ni Leon Ma. Guerrero nasa ikaapat na kabanata ang bahagi ukol sa buhay-Ateneo ni Rizal. May pamagat ito na *Religion, Race and Rhetoric*. Isang magandang lagom sa buhay-Ateneo ni Rizal ang pamagat na napili ni Guerrero para sa kabanata. Ang buong pamamalagi ni Rizal sa Ateneo ay nagdala sa kanya ng malawak at malalim na karanasan at pagkamulat ukol sa kanyang: pananampalataya sa Diyos --- *Religion*; pananaw sa pagkakapantay-pantay ng tao anuman ang lahi nito --- *Race*; at kahusayan sa wika at sining --- *Rhetoric*.

"Estudyante ng mga Heswita" naman ang pamagat ng ikatlong kabanata ng biograpiyang isinulat ni Austin Coates na nagsalaysay sa pamamalagi ni Rizal sa Ateneo. Ito ang lagom ni Coates sa konteksto ng panahong na humubog sa isang bayaning intelekwal:

> *Kumakatawan sa isang penomenong intelektwal ang banyuhay sa pag-iisip ni Rizal sa kanyang kabataan, ang paglago at pag-unlad ng isang makabayan at palaisip na politikal mula sa isang kapaligirang tunay na kakatwa o gayon katigang sa mga ideya o pagkaindibidwal kaya itinuring ang kanyang pagsulpot taglay ang gayong mga ideya na halos mahimala, at nararapat masuri higit pa sa kaso ng karaniwang tao. (Coates, p.57)*

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[1] Leon Ma. Guerrero. "The First Filipino. A Biography of Jose Rizal." (Manila: Guerrero Publishing, 1998 edition). Nagwagi ito ng unang gantimpala sa Rizal Biography Contest noong 1961 sa pamamahala ng Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission.

[2] Coates, Austin. Rizal: Makabayan at Martir. Trans. Nilo S. Ocampo. Quezon City: UP Press, 1995.

Halos kasing-edad lamang ni Rizal noon ang Ateneo. Hunyo 1861 ipinanganak si Rizal samantalang Disyembre 1859 naman nang pasimulan ng mga Kastilang Heswita ang Escuela Municipal sang-ayon sa hiling ng mga mamamayan ng Maynila at pakiusap ng Gobernador-Heneral. Taong 1865, tinawag na itong Ateneo Municipal nang gawin na itong paaralang sekundarya. Limang taon ang buong pag-aaral na may mga yugtong tinatawag na: *infirma, inferior, media, superior* at *suprema.* Ang kurikulum ay binubuo ng mga kurso sa relihiyon, mabuting pag-uugali at wastong asal, pagbasa, pagsulat, gramatikang Kastila, historia, heograpiya, matematika, pisika, kimika at bayolohiya. *Elective* na kurso ang wikang Pranses, musika at pagguhit.[1]

Ayon kay Rafael Palma, ang mga Heswita noon ay kinikilalang *"best educators of Spain and perhaps of Europe"* at sa paaralang ito sa loob ng Intramuros, makatatagpo ng probinsiyanong Rizal ang mga guro niyang Kastilang Heswita.

Ang Pag-aaral ni Rizal sa Ateneo sa Maynila
Unang Taon: 1872-1873

"muli na naman akong magiging isang kulang-palad"

Malungkot na kaisipan ng pag-iisa ang nasa gunita ni Rizal nang kanyang balikan ang sandaling luluwas siyang muli ng Maynila, iiwang muli ang bayan at malalayo sa pamilya, upang mag-aral sa Ateneo. Labing-isang taong gulang lamang noon si Rizal.

Mayroon lamang tatlong paaralang sekundaryo na maaaring pasukan ang batang Rizal noong panahong iyon, ayon kay Guerrero: ang *San Jose Seminary* kung saan hindi naging masaya ang pag-aaral ng kanyang kuya Paciano; ang Colegio de San Juan de Letran ng mga Dominiko; at ang pampublikong paaralan na Ateneo Municipal na pinamamahalaan ng mga Heswita.

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[1] De La Costa, Horacio. Light Cavalry. Manila: National Office of Mass Media, 1997, pp.42-43.

Ang nag-iisang kapatid na lalaki ni Rizal na si Paciano ang kasa-kasama niyang lumuluwas sa Maynila. Si Paciano ang nag-aasikaso kay Jose sa kanyang pagpasok (*admission*) sa Ateneo. Kumuha muna si Rizal ng pagsusulit sa Letran (kumbaga, *entrance test*) sa Doktrinang Pangkristiyano, aritmetiko at pagbabasa. Ito ang unang pagsusulit na kanyang naranasan. Naipasa niya ang mga pagsusulit at masayang umuwi sa Calamba para sa pagdiriwang ng kapistahan ng kanilang bayan.

Sa simula, hindi tinanggap si Rizal sa Ateneo ni Padre Magin Ferrando, ang paring ministro ng paaralan. Dalawang dahilan ang inisip ni Rizal kung bakit. Una, marahil dahil sa huli na siya sa pagpasok dahil nagsimula na ang klase. Ikalawa, dahil sa kanyang "mahinang pangangatawan" at "kababaan". Gumawa ng paraan si Paciano at lumapit kay Manuel Xerez Burgos, pamangkin ni Padre Burgos. Napansin noon ni Manuel Burgos na sa batang gulang ni Jose ay mahusay na itong magbasa at maayos kumilos at hindi rin basta-basta nakikisama sa ibang mga batang lalaki maliban na lamang kung magbibigay-komento sa mga mahahalagang usapin.[1] Si Burgos ang gumawa ng paraan para makumbinsi ang mga Heswita na tanggapin si Jose Rizal na makapag-aral sa Ateneo.

"taimtim na panalangin ang iniukol ko sa Diyos!"

Sa simula'y sadyang kalungkutan ng pag-iisa ang naranasan ni Jose sa Ateneo na sa kanya'y isang bagong kapaligiran. Sa unang araw niya sa Ateneo, sa kanyang unang misa, tumatak sa kanyang gunita kung papaano niya nilapitan ang Diyos upang maging kumportable mula sa nadaramang kalungkutan:

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[1] Binanggit sa *The First Filipino*, p. 33.

> *"Gaanong kataimtim ng puso ang taglay ko nang ako'y pumasok sa kapilya ng mga paring hesuwita upang makinig ng misa, gaano kataimtim na panalangin ang iniukol ko sa Diyos! sapagkat sa kalungkutan ko'y wala akong ibang malamang tawagan." (Mga Alaala...p.15)*

Ang bawat araw noon sa Ateneo ay nagsisimula sa pakikinig ng misa. Ang bawat klase naman ay nagsisimula at nagtatapos sa panalangin. Matapos ang kanyang unang pakikinig ng misa sa Ateneo, nagtungo naman siya sa kanyang unang klase na ayon sa kanya ay "maraming mga batang Kastila, mestiso at Pilipino." Naroon ang kanyang unang heswitang guro, si Padre Jose Bech. Ganito ang paglalarawan niya sa kanyang unang guro sa Ateneo:

> *"mataas, balangkinitan, may katawang hukot na bahagya sa dakong harap, matulin kung lumakad, may pagmumukhang yayat na katulad ng sa mga taong nawiwili sa kabanalan, matigas at masigla ang mga matang maliliit at lubog, ilong na matangos na gaya ng sa mga griyego, mga labing maninipis na parang balantok na ang mga dulo ay pababang tungo sa baba... may pagkakabuwaning bahagya, kaya dapat pagtakhan na makita siya kung minsan na waring may sama ng loob at may pag-uugaling kulang sa pagpaparaya, samantalang, kung minsan ay nag-aaliw at nakikipaglarong parang isang bata." (p.5-16)*

Sa ilalim ni Padre Bech, unang naranasan ni Rizal ang "pedagogic device" ng mga Heswita. Hinahati ang bawat klase sa dalawang pangkat o imperyo: ang "Romano" para sa mga nakadormitoryo sa Ateneo na may banderang kulay pula at "Kartahenes o Griyego" para sa mga estudyanteng uwian araw-araw na may banderang kulay asul. Ang pinakamagaling sa bawat pangkat ay tinatawag na "emperador" na sinusundan ng "tribuno", "decurion", "centurion", at "porta estandarte." Sa ganitong sistema, may dalawang uri ng paligsahan: una, pagalingan sa pagitan ng dalawang pangkat; at ikalawa, pagalingan naman sa loob mismo ng bawat pangkat. Sa una, ang tagumpay ay nasa pagkakatuklas ng pagkakamali sa pagsagot sa bawat tanong. Sa ikalawa naman ay nasa paghamon sa pamamagitan ng pagsagot sa tanong ukol sa naging aralin sa araw na iyon. Matatalo ang hinahamon kung magkakamali siya ng tatlong beses. Sa simula ng klase, parehong nakataas sa kanang bahagi ng silid ang bandera ng bawat pangkat. Iliipat-lipat sa kaliwa o ibaba ang bandera ng natatalong emperyo hanggang sa umabot sa ikaanim na pagkatalo kung saan papalitan na ang bandera ng larawan ng isang buriko (donkey)!

Nang dumating si Rizal sa Ateneo, siya ang nasa pinakahuli o pinakabuntot ng imperyo ng Kartahenes subalit makalipas lamang ang isang buwan, siya na ang itinanghal na emperador ng pangkat. Ang natalo niya at pinalitan sa trono ay isang Kastilang estudyante na nagngangalang Gonzalo Marzano. Bilang gantimpala ay tumanggap siya ng larawan ng isang santo na lubha niyang ikinagalak.

Ang Ateneo noon ay nasa loob ng Intramuros na ayon kay Coates ay "mabalasik at mapanglaw na luklukan ng kapangyarihang Espanyol, napapaligiran ng makakapal na pader... nasa loob ang katedral, marami-raming magarbong simbahan, ang Real Audiencia, ang mga pangunahing tanggapang administratibo ng gobyerno, at mga tirahan ng mga tanyag na Espanyol." (Coates, p.62)

"hindi ko inibig na manirahan sa lunsod na sa aking palagay ay lubhang malungkot"

Pagkatapos ng kanyang unang araw sa paaralan, hinatid siya ng kanyang kuya sa bahay na kanyang tutuluyan habang nag-aaral sa Ateneo. "Dalawamput limang sandali ng paglalakad" ito mula sa paaralan. Ito ay sa Binondo, na nasa kabilang pampang ng ilog Pasig at sentro ng gawaing pangkomersyo at maraming Intsik. Ang may-ari ng bahay ay isang matandang dalaga na nagngangalang Titay. May pagkakautang ito sa pamilya ni Rizal. Ang kasama nila sa bahay ay ilang binatang mestisong kastila at ang nanay ng may-ari na inilarawan ni Rizal na: "isang mabuting matanda, isang baliw na hindi nananakit." Dagdag pa ni Coates "ang mga kasama niya rito sa tirahan mga anak sa labas ng mga prayleng Espanyol." (Coates, p.63).

"nagdamdam ako sa ilang salita ng aking guro"

Maayos ang naging pag-aaral ni Rizal. Maaga siyang nakapagpakita ng husay. Sa unang tatlong buwan pa lamang ay nagtamo na siya ng mga gantimpala at nakakuha pa ng markang "sobresaliente." Subalit ang pagpupursiging ito ni Rizal sa pag-aaral ay bahagyang naapektuhan ng ilang pananalita ng kanyang guro. Nagdamdam siya at hindi na naging masugid sa pag-aaral. Kung kayat sa pagtatapos ng taon ay "accesit" (honorable mention) lamang ang kanyang nakuha at markang "sobresaliente" subalit walang anumang mga gantimpala.

"kailanma'y wala akong ganap na kaligayahan"

Bakasyon at umuwi siya sa kanyang bayan. Isinama siya ng kanyang Ate Neneng sa Batangas upang makipiyesta sa Tanawan. Sa kabila ng masaya sanang pagbabakasyon, pagliliwaliw at pagdiriwang ng pista, nasabi ni Rizal na "kailanma'y wala akong ganap na kaligayahan" sa kadahilanang ang kanyang ina ay nananatili pa rin sa bilangguan.

Mag-isa niyang dinalaw ang kaniyang ina nang walang paalam sa kaniyang ama. Mahigit isang taon na silang hindi nagkikita. Nagkuwento siya sa kaniyang ina at ibinalita ang kanyang pag-aaral sa Ateneo. Labis ang ligaya ng kaniyang ina: nagyakap sila at lumuha. Sa kanyang paggunita sa pangyayaring ito, nakabuo si Rizal ng isang makapangyarihang pahayag: *"Ngayon man ay nagugunita kong may kasamang lungkot at tuwa ang piping pagkakatagpong nangyari sa aming dalawa. Ah, anong lupit ng mga tao sa kapwa tao!"*

Ikalawang Taon: 1873-1874

"walang bukod tanging nangyari sa akin"

Napagod na sa paninirahan sa labas ng Maynila, nagdesisyon si Rizal na maghanap ng matutuluyan sa loob ng pinaderang lungsod. Nakakita siya ng malilipatang bahay sa daang Magallanes na pagmamay-ari ng isang matandang babaing balo (Donya Pepay) kasama ang anak na babae nitong balo rin at apat na anak.

Sa ikalawang taon niya sa Ateneo, si Padre Bech pa rin ang kanyang guro kayat nasabi niyang "walang bukod tanging nangyari" sa kanya. Sa pagtatapos ng taon, nagtamo siya ng isang medalya dahil nakakuha siya ng markang *accesit* sa lahat ng kanyang asignatura (Latin, Geometry at Geography) pati na rin para sa *effort* at *conduct*. Pinakamataas siya sa mga ito sa Latin kung saan ang nakuha niyang marka ay "third accesit" (third honorable mention). Sa kabuuan, sa labing-isang mag-aaral, panlima siya batay sa taas ng nakuhang marka.

"paghulang...nagkatotoo"

Bakasyong muli at nagbalik siya sa Calamba. Mag-isa niyang muling binisita ang ina sa bilangguan. Nagkuwento ang kanyang ina ng panaginip nit. Itinulad ni Rizal ang sarili sa isang "bagong Jose" sa Bibliya at ipinaliwanag ang panaginip ng ina: sinabi niyang sa loob ng tatlong buwan ay makalalaya na ito. At nangyari nga. Nang makalaya ang kanyang ina ay dinalawa siya nito sa Maynila.

pagbabasa kung walang ginagawa

Labindalawang taong gulang si Rizal at sa yugtong ito, pagbabasa ng mga nobela ang ginagawa niya kapag wala ibang ginagawa. Ilan sa kanyang mga binasa ay ang: "El Ultimo Abencerraje" na hindi buong sigla niyang binasa; "El Conde de Monte Cristo" na kanyang lubhang kinawilihan. Nagpabili siya sa kanyang ama, bagaman ayon sa kanya'y nayamot ito, ng

Historia Universal (Kasaysayan ng Daigdig) ni Cesar Cantu. Ang interes ni Rizal sa pagbabasa ng mga tekstong nasa wikang Kastila ay nakatulong ng malaki sa paglawak at paglalim ng kanyang kaalaman sa maraming bagay, at higit sa lahat, nakatulong upang maging hiyang at magaling siya sa wikang Kastila.

Ikatlong Taon: 1874-1875

Ikatlong taon na ni Rizal sa Ateneo. Pagbalik niya sa Maynila ay wala nang silid na maibigay sa kanya sa dati niyang tinutuluyan. Kasama ang isang mayamang kababayan ay tumuloy siya sa bahay ni DPM. Hindi siya naging kumportable sa pamamalagi rito dahil may takdang-oras ang kanyang mga gawain. Pagkaraan lamang ng ilang buwan ay umalis siya rito at bumalik sa dating tinutuluyan. Sa pagtatapos ng taon, wala siyang ibang nakamtan liban sa isang medalya, para sa kanyang unang gantimpala sa Latin. Hindi maligaya si Rizal sa nakamit niya kaya umuwi siya sa Calambang hindi masaya. Ang pangyayaring ito na umuwi siyang hindi nasisiyahan sa kanyang nakuhang gantimpala, ay nakapagpagising sa kanya upang magpakitang gilas. Sabi niya:

> *Napapanahon na nga, sapagkat kakaunti ang panahong iniuukol ko sa pag-aaral at gayong ako'y may labintatlong taon na, ay hindi pa nakapagpapakilala sa pamamaraang maningning sa aking mga kamag-aral. (Alaala, p.20)*

Ikaapat na Taon: 1875-1876

"tinanggap akong mabuti ng mga kamag-aral"

Taong 1875 nang tumuloy si Rizal sa dormitoryo ng Ateneo. Ang kanyang naging silid ay nakaharap sa gawi ng dagat. Dalawang beses lamang sila maaring magtungo sa kani-kanilang silid: kapag tanghali upang maghilamos at sa gabi upang matulog. Kapag patapos na ang hapon kung araw ng pista ay maari silang magbihis at mamasyal. Kadalasan, lumilipas ang kanilang araw sa bulwagang aralan, palaruan, sa silid-aralan at simbahan. Sa loob ng dormitoryo, mahigpit ang patakaran na kailangang sundin ng mga mag-aaral. Ang regulasyon at disiplinang ito ay malaki ang naitulong kay Rizal upang masanay na magkaroon ng sistema sa bawat gawain sa bawat araw.

Sa yugtong ito, sinusubaybayan na si Rizal ng mga Heswita nang mas malapitan. Naging malapit naman si Rizal sa kanyang mga gurong Heswita. Sa paglalarawan nga ni P. Pastells noon kay Rizal:

> "a child of outstanding religious sentiments, behavior and dedication to work, who made progress equal to the capacities of his gifted talents"[1]

Sa taon ding ito naging guro ni Rizal si P. Francisco Paula de Sanchez. Dalawampu't anim na taong gulang at *Scholastic* pa lamang noon si Sanchez. Subalit malaki ang naging impluwensiya niya sa paghusay ni Rizal sa panitikan at wikang Kastila.

Umanib si Rizal sa Sodality of Our Lady. Naging kalihim siya nito at paglaon ay naging pangulo pa. Sa pagtatapos ng taon, nakakuha siya ng apat na medalya. Kaya't buong pagmamalaki ang tinig niya sa pagsasabing:

> "Maipagmamalaki kong sabihin sa iyo, bumabasa, na ang taong ito'y pinakinabangan ko nang lalong mabuti kaysa alin mang taon bilang mag-aaral, bilang tao at bilang kristiyano." (alaala, p.22-23)

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[1] Binanggit ni P. Bonoan sa kanyang "Rizal's Record at the Ateneo", tala blg. 28.

Ikalimang Taon: 1876-1877

"ako'y isa nang pilosopo"

Dalawang ang kanyang naging guro sa taong ito: si P. Villaclara at P. Minoves. Mahal na mahal ni Rizal si P. Villaclara bagaman pinagsabihan na siya nitong iwanan ang pakikitungo sa paraluman (muse) at itigil na ang pagsulat ng mga tula. Sinuway ito ni Rizal. Napaiyak na lamang siya at ipinagpatuloy pa rin ang gawaing sa oras ng kanyang pamamahinga, sa pamamatnugot ni P. Sanchez. Sadyang umiibig na si Rizal sa puntong sa pagtula sa wikang Kastila.

huling gabi sa Ateneo

Hindi makatulog si Rizal sa kanyang huling gabi sa Ateneo. Ginagambala siya isip ng kaisipang ito na ang huling gabi niya sa silid na iyon. Nakita ang kalungkutan sa buwan nagpapaisip sa kanya sa kanyang bukas sa labas ng Ateneo. Kinabukasan ng umaga, ang araw ng pagtatapos, muli siyang lumapit sa Diyos:

> *Nang mag-umaga na ay nagbihis ako, nagdasal na mataimtim sa kapilya at inihabilin sa Mahal na Birhen ang buhay ko, upang kung ako'y yumapak na sa daigdig na iyong lubhang nakapagbibigay-sindak sa akin, ay aampunin niya ako.*

Sa araw ng iyon ng pagtatapos, tinanggap niya ang kanyang diploma at mayroon na siyang titulong "bachiller" na maipagmamalaki, dagdag pa ang limang medalyang patunay sa kanyang kahusayan at ang pagkilala mula sa kanyang mga propesor at kamag-aral. Akala ni Rizal, ang sinumang may labinlimang taong gulang na kabataan na nagkamit ng ganitong pagkilala at gantimpala ay magiging labis na masaya na. Hindi pala. Hindi ganoon ang nangyari sa kanya. Sabi niya:

> *"Ako'y malungkot noon, matamlay at nagmumunimuni. Dalawa o tatlong patak na luha ang namalisbis sa aking mga pisngi, mga luhang wari'y iniukol sa pagpapaalam sa panahong nakaraan, sa aking kapalarang hindi na magbabalik, sa kapayapaan kong pumainlanlang na sa langit at ako'y nilisang nag-iisa sa lupa. Kuru-kuruin ninyo at inyong mararamdaman iyon kung kayo'y may puso.*

Lumuha siya sapagkat kailangan na niyang magpaalam sa paaralan at sa mga gurong nagmahal sa kanya at kanya ring minahal.

Ang pakikipag-ugnayan ni Rizal sa kanyang mga gurong Heswita ay hindi nagwakas sa kanyang pagtatapos sa Ateneo. Nagpatuloy ito sa pakikipagpalitan nila ng liham sa isa't isa. Heto ang bahagi ng liham ni Padre Jacinto Febres, dating guro ni Rizal na noo'y nasa Roma, (19 Marso 1877):

> *...In your letter you recall a souvenir I gave you, which shows the Divine Gardener planting a flower and you say that the flower is planted in your heart. That flower is the gift of virtue. If you have a clear conscience, be vigilant to keep it so because it will soon wither; to keep it blooming, refresh it with the holy waters of frequent Confession and Communion. Try to be good, bomb-proof, so that when you get to know evil, when you should meet it, it may not take hold of your*

> *heart; and instead you will go running to the feet of your Father Confessor, revealing the temptation to him, and he like a good father, like a good gardener, will know how to cultivate that flower. So shall it grow and bear the fruit which you will gather in heaven.*[1]

Makikita natin sa mga liham na ito ang malapit na kaugnayan at pagturing ng mga gurong Heswita ni Rizal sa kanya – mga tunay na pagmamalasakit at pagmamahal ng isang guro sa mag-aaral. Ganito rin ang liham ni Padre J. Villaclara sa kanya (16 July 1878)

> *...Carry on as you are doing now, with your time religiously apportioned, and may you gain the best result in virtue and in the sciences. I congratulate you with all my heart... In the name of God do not neglect your attendance at the meetings of the Sodality and your reception of the Sacraments which are the most effective means against perdition and the best precaution against the thousand traps that will be laid for you by the enemy of souls. If you only knew how many times I have remembered you and how often you have been the subject of conversation among us Fathers in the Mission... Farewell, be very good and pray for me so that one not too distant day we may see each other and be happy together in Heaven.*[2]

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[1] Binanggit sa The First Filipino, p.39.

[2] Binanggit sa The First Filipino, p.40.

Sa gunita ni Rizal, talagang tumatak hindi lamang sa kanyang isip kundi maging sa puso ang kabutihan at pagmamalasakit ng kanyang mga guro. Bagaman inilarawan niya si Padre Francisco Paula de Sanchez (Liham niya kay Blumentritt, 26 May 1890) na: "*a penetrating observer, although rather pessimistic, always looking at the bad side of things. When we were in school we used to call him a "dark spirit" and the students nicknamed him Paniki, which is a kind of bat...*"; hindi niya nakalimutang alalahanin na noong bata pa siyang pumasok sa Ateneo ay kakaunti ang kanyang kaalaman sa wikang Kastila subalit dahil sa "makabuluhang tulong ng isang mapagmalasakit na guro", "unti-unti" siyang nagbago. Ganito pa niya ipinakilala sa kanyang gunita si Padre Sanchez:

> *"Ang guro naming ay isang uliran ng pagkamatwid, pagsisikap at pag-ibig sa ikasusulong ng kanyang mga tinuturuan; at gayon na lamang ang kanyang pagmamalasakit , na ako, bahagya lamang na nakapagsasalita ng wikang Kastila, pagkaraan ng maikling panahon ay maayos nang nakapag-uugnay-ugnay ng mga pangungusap... Sa tulong niya ay marami rin akong natutuhan sa matematika, sa retorika, at sa wikang griyego."*

Isa rin sa mga gurong natatanging pinahalagahan at kinilala ni Rizal sa Ateneo ay ang kanyang propesor sa pagguhit, si Ginoong Agustin Saez. Nagtapos na siya sa Ateno subalit nagpatuloy pa rin siya sa pag-aaral sa ilalim ng guro niyang ito. Sa pagtatapos ng klase ng taong 1878, niregaluhan niya ang kinalulugdang guro ng isang "tortoise-shell box" mula sa kanyang buwanang baon bilang mag-aaral.[1] At bago siya magtungo sa Europa noong 1882 sa unang pagkakataon, dinalaw niya si Saez upang magpaalam.

Kongklusyon

Ano ang itinuturo sa atin ng karanasan ng isang probinsiyanong Jose Rizal bilang mag-aaral sa paaralang Ateneo Municipal de Manila?

Papaano nagsilang ng isang Jose Rizal ang Ateneo noon na siyang tatanghaling dakila at bayani paglipas ng mga taon?

Ito ang sagot ni Rizal:

> "Sa tulong ng pag-aaral, ng pagsusuri sa aking sarili, ng paghahangad sa dako pa roon at ng libong pagwawasto, ay unti-unti akong nagbago, salamat sa makabuluhang tulong ng isang mapagmalasakit na guro."

Kung hihimaymayin natin itong pahayag ni Rizal, makikita natin ang apat na bagay na maaari nating ituring bilang pormularyo sa proseso ng paghubog ng isang Jose Rizal. Hindi siya "perpektong estudyante" noong simula, subalit dahil sa mga ito, "unti-unti siyang nagbago" tungo sa isang Jose Rizal na tatanghaling "Pride of the Malay Race":

Una: **"sa tulong ng pag-aaral."** Ipinakita ni Rizal ang kahalagahan ng pagsisikap sa pag-aaral upang maabot ang kagalingan at natatanging husay (excellence).

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[1] Encarnacion Alzona. "The Education of Rizal" (1961) nasa Ma. Luisa T. Camagay, "Encarnacion Alzona: An Anthology" (Quezon City: Office of Research Coordination, UP Diliman, 1996) p.211.

Ikalawa: **"pagsusuri ng sarili."** Bahagi ng mga pagsasanay sa mga gawain ng mga Heswita ang pagninilay (*reflection)*. Malaki ang naitulong nito kay Rizal upang makita ang sariling pagkakamali, kahinaan, maging kalakasan at pangarap sa buhay.

Ikatlo: **"paghahangad sa dako pa roon."** Ito ba ang katumbas ng *Magis* para kay Rizal? Ang paghamon sa sarili nang higit pa upang mailabas ang yaman ng sariling kakayanan.

Ikaapat: **"libong pagwawasto."** Nagsasabing siya man ay hindi perpekto na marami rin siyang mga pagkakamali. Subalit ang mahalaga rito ay hindi pananatili sa pagkakamali, kundi ang mismong aksiyon upang itama ang mga pagkakamaling ito.

Ikalima: **"makabuluhang tulong ng mapagmalasakit na guro."** Malinaw na *Cura personalis* ng mga Heswita ang tinutukoy rito ni Rizal. Pinatutunayan lamang ni Rizal ang kahalagahan ng "malasakit" ng mga guro sa kanilang mga mag-aaral.

Mahalagang banggitin din sa bahaging ito ang mga salita ni P. Raul Bonoan ukol sa buhay-estudyante ni Rizal sa Ateneo:

> *"During his years at the Ateneo Municipal de Manila, Jose Rizal, by his own testimony and that of his Jesuit professors, was a deeply religious young man who frequented the school chapel, nurtured a*

> *tender devotion to our Blessed Mother..."*[1]
>
> *"(Rizal) was not always number one in his class; it was a long hard climb to the top. Somewhat disadvantaged because of his provincial background, he won no medal in his first year... at the end of the course, he received five first prize medals, the first among the 12 A.B. graduates of 1877."*[2]
>
> *It is the story of many a student convinced of the truth that medals do not come with birth and background, but take shape by "constantly pushing forward" and "a thousand corrections" done in the struggle to be a new man."*

Tatlong mahahalang punto rin mula kay Coates ang maihaharap bilang pangwakas sa papel na ito. Ito ay mga lagom ng pagsusuri sa naging buhay-estudyante ni Rizal sa Ateneo na nagbibigay-saysay rin sa buhay ni Rizal bilang isang bayaning maisasandig na halimbawa sa mga kabataang Pilipino sa kasalukuyang panahon.

> *"Nag-iwan siya sa Ateneo ng reputasyon ng pagiging pinakamagaling na estudyante ng panahong iyon. Bukod sa pagpapatunay sa sarili bilang maningning na iskolar, sa maraming mga samahang estudyanteng nasasalihan niya sa Ateneo lumabas ang mga katangian ng natural na pamumuno kung kaya palagi siyang nagkakaisang pinipili ng mga kaeskwela bilang*

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[1] Fr. Raul Bonoan. Religion and Nationalism in Rizal.

[2] ____________. Rizal's Record in the Ateneo.

> *tagapangulo, pinuno o tagapagsalita." (Coates, p. 63)*

> *"Sa Ateneo pangunahing nakita ang kanyang mga kahusayan sa gawaing iskolastik, panulaan, pagpipinta at iskultura, at nanaig siya sa lahat. Subalit nanatili ang katanungan. Walang duda kung gaano karami ang mga bagay na kanyang magagawa. Pero, kung dumating na ang oras, ano ang kanyang gagawin?" (Coates, p. 64)*

> *"Bago niya nilisan ang Ateneo napagtanto na niya kung ano ang pinakafundamental na suliranin ng Pilipinas hinggil sa pagpapabuti ng mga kondisyon -- na sa gabun ng kamangmangan nabubuhay ang paniniil, na habang napapalis ang kamangmangan naluluoy at namamatay ang paniniil." (Coates, p. 67)*

Ngayon, balikan natin ang isang tugon sa simula ukol sa tanong na Sino ba si Rizal?

> ***Greenlaser** (Nov 22, 2006) Para yatang hindi maka-relate ang maraming Pilipino kay Jose Rizal. Kaya siguro maraming nagtatanong kung sino talaga siya.*

Uulit at uulit ang mga tanong na tulad nito. Subalit kung nais nating makamit an gating mga layunin sa pagtuturo ng Rizal at ng kasaysayan, dapat nating isaalang-alang ang kasalukuyang konteksto ng ating mga mag-aaral. Sa papel na ito, isang yugto lamang sa buhay ni Rizal ang tinalakay subalit masasabi na isa itong posibleng hakbang upang ipakilala si Rizal **bilang estudyante, tulad nila.**

DARKNESS AFTER THE LIGHT:
Rizal Back in the Philippines
1887-1888

Celestina Boncan

Rizal left Europe on July 3, 1887, boarding in Marseilles, France the *Djemnah*, the boat that would bring him back to the Philippines. The journey took less than a month --- the *Djemnah* docked on July 30 at the port of Saigon in Vietnam, at the time a colony of France. From here Rizal took the steamer *Haiphong* which left Saigon on August 2, arriving in Manila three days later. From the "Light" (Europe), Rizal was back in the "Darkness" (Philippines).

Rizal did not stay very long in the Philippines. On February 3, 1888 he was aboard a boat bound for Europe. Intervening events in the country made him return to Europe with an even greater aim as compared with his first travel to Europe. The purpose of the paper is to describe these events that made Rizal go back to Europe in 1888.

KEYWORDS: *Noli Me Tangere * Emilio Terrero * Filibustero * Ereje * The German Doctor

August 1887-February 1888

While in Manila, Rizal checked the status of sales of the *Noli Me Tangere* which had been published on March 21, 1887 in Berlin, of which copies had been sent to the Philippines. Rizal was glad to find out that sales had been brisk, meaning to say therefore that a large number of the people had read the *Noli*, for which also it must be construed that they have grasped the message that he wished to put across.

But what Rizal little realized was the fact that the publication of the *Noli* had already caused a furor even before his arrival in Manila. A committee consisting of Dominican friars had been formed to evaluate the novel. This was hastened by the fact that even before the *Noli* was published Rizal had already made himself the target of the wrath of the friars brought about by a speech that he made three years earlier. In 1884, Rizal spoke at the banquet in honor of Juan Luna and Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo who won gold medals in the Exposicion de Bellas Artes. Rizal devoted the first part of his speech in saying that race, contrary to what the Spaniards had for years been saying, has no bearing in determining a person's genius because "genius knows no country, it sprouts everywhere; like light and air it is the patrimony of everybody." In fact, the two, Luna and Hidalgo, who were born in the Philippines, could also have been born in Spain. In the second part of his speech, Rizal lambasted the friars, calling them "myopic pygmies who fail to project their vision into the future," describing them furthermore as "sickly nurses, engaged in stifling all legitimate sentiments, sowing the seeds of discord." In all of these, Rizal says that the harvest that they reaped was nothing but "the death of future generations."

From Manila Rizal proceeded to Calamba. Upon his arrival, Rizal offered warm, even profuse, greetings to his family. However, Rizal forgot that he was not in Europe but in the Philippines where making such warm greetings was uncommon. As there was no freedom to enjoy, there was also no *joi de vivre* for the people to feel, much less be radiant about. In

Calamba also, not knowing that he was already regarded as an *ereje* (heretic) and a *filibustero* (subversive), Rizal failed to realize the strain that his mere presence placed upon his family, especially to his father Francisco Mercado. This was the second time that Francisco Mercado experienced the strain of having a member of his family regarded as an *ereje* and a *filibustero*. Years back in 1872 three Filipino priests were executed in Bagumbayan after they were charged of leading the mutiny in the Cavite Arsenal. The Rizal family was ostracized because the elder son Paciano was the student of one of the priests, Father Jose Burgos. Paciano was not allowed to take the final examination at the Colegio de San Jose. This prevented him from receiving his *Bachiller en Artes*. Dejected, Paciano returned to Calamba to continue the trade of his parents, that of *inquilinos* to the Dominican hacienda in Binan, instead of becoming a professional with a practice in Manila. It would appear therefore, that Paciano's "crime" was his association with Father Burgos. But Rizal's case was different and definitely graver in offense --- in 1884 he spoke blasphemously against the friars, in 1887 he published a novel, the *Noli*, which antagonized him even more with the friars. And now, with Rizal come back home to Calamba, the family was bound to experience again the full impact of how the Government and the Church treated *erejes* and *filibusteros*.

Rizal soon set up his practice in Calamba. By setting up a clinic in Calamba, Rizal put to good use the money that his parents faithfully sent to him for five years. Rizal's clinic was frequented by his town mates. In no time, Rizal came to be called by his town mates with a curious name --- the "German Doctor." To a person familiar with European affairs at the time like Rizal, the appellation would not sit well. Germany was Spain's traditional enemy in politics and in religion. In politics, under its young Kaiser Wilhelm II, Germany had become aggressive, wanting to dominate European affairs in the continent, on one hand, and acquiring colonies in Oceania, putting in danger Spain's hold over the Philippines. In religion, Germany was Protestant, for years Catholic Spain's nemesis in Europe. To Rizal, the label "German Doctor" was an affront to him. While he castigated the friars, he held great faith in the fairness and goodness of the government in Madrid to right the wrongs and injustices being committed in the Philippines.

On August 30, 1887, while Rizal was kept busy by his practice in Calamba, the rector of the University of Santo Tomas submitted the findings of his committee regarding the *Noli* to the Archbishop of Manila. The committee based its findings on two grounds. With regards the first which was on religion, the committee found the *Noli* "heretical, impious and scandalous." With regards the second which was on public order, the committee found the *Noli* "unpatriotic and subversive." The committee believed that it would cause great harm if the *Noli* was allowed to continue to circulate in the country. The committee recommended that the *Noli* be banned in the Philippines.

The fate of the *Noli*, however, did not seem to rest solely on the hands of the committee. A couple of days later (September 2, 1887), Governor General Emilio Terrero summoned Rizal to Manila for an interview. Now, why did the good governor general summon Rizal? First, it would seem that he was a person who was not easily swayed by the friars. Second, it would seem that he wanted to find out just what kind of a person Rizal was to have written a novel that greatly infuriated the friars. Governor Terrero thereupon ordered a new evaluation of the *Noli* to be made, this time by the Permanent Commission on Censorship which included laymen as well. But mindful also that there may be some truth to what the friars insinuated about Rizal, Governor Terrero assigned a *Guardia Civil* escort to accompany Rizal from here on. Governor Terrero chose well Rizal's military escort. His name was Lieutenant Jose Taviel de Andrade, an officer, who spoke French and English and dabbled in painting. By choosing Lieutenant Taviel de Andrade, a well-educated person, one can surmise that Governor Terrero held a high regard of respect to Rizal.

Towards the end of the year, the town council of Calamba received a directive from the provincial governor ordering it to submit a report on whether there had been any increase in the harvests and acreage of the Dominican hacienda in the past three years. The instructions did not really emanate from the provincial government of Laguna but from the government in Manila, from no less than Governor Terrero himself who wanted to check out reports that had reached his offices of abuses being committed by friar orders. At first, the directive instilled fear among the people of Calamba but Rizal was quick to assure the people that the inquiry was in fact beneficial to them because it would provide them with the opportunity to inform the office of the governor general of the true conditions in the Dominican hacienda. For years, the hacienda in Calamba had grown in size but the Dominicans had not been paying the full amount of the tax paid to them by the people. Rizal, putting to good use the course in surveying that he took earlier at the Ateneo, wrote the report. In the report that he submitted on January 8, 1888 Rizal revealed the irregularities that the Dominicans perpetuated. This action of Rizal resulted in only one thing --- he further incurred the ire of the friars, notably the Dominicans.

It would appear then that from the time he arrived in August until the start of the following year, numerous difficulties hounded Rizal. It was at this time that Rizal seriously thought of going back to Europe. He had every reason to do so. First of all, he faced powerful enemies, the Dominican friars. Secondly, he felt that he was an outcast --- his family was uncomfortable in his presence, the people of Calamba regarded him as a spy of Germany. Thirdly, he wanted to write a sequel to the *Noli* as the *Noli* does not reveal what happened to Crisostomo Ibarra after soldiers chased him towards the lake which ended with the soldiers firing some shots and after which someone fell fatally. And fourthly, Rizal also wanted to write about the past of the Philippines since he wanted to prove that the Philippines was a prosperous and happy country before the Spaniards came. All of these reasons converged to make Rizal come to a most painful decision of having to leave his beloved Philippines once again. On February 3, 1888 Rizal left Manila.

February–May 1888

Five days after he left Manila, Rizal arrived in Hong Kong. In Hong Kong Rizal met two Filipinos --- Jose Ma. Basa and Balbino Mauricio. They were among the civilians arrested by the Spanish authorities for their involvement in the 1872 Cavite Mutiny. In the trials that followed, their sentence was exile in the Marianas for ten years. The two, however, did not finish the period of exile and escaped to Hong Kong. This chance encounter is propitious because it marks Rizal's coming into contact with two of the leaders of what most historians call as the "first Reform Movement." As a result of the liberal climate fostered by the appointment of Carlos Maria de la Torre as governor general, a *Comite de Reformadores* was formed made up of lawyers and businessmen like Basa and Mauricio and secular priests like Father Jose Burgos.

Of the two, it was the latter, Balbino Mauricio, whose story Rizal found most tragic. Balbino Mauricio escaped from the Marianas by disguising himself as a monk. When he arrived in Hong Kong, he became sickly. Penniless and alone, he lived in the slum area of Hong Kong. As a *deportado*, aggravated by having escaped from exile, he could not return to the Philippines. His life in Hong Kong became even more difficult by his family's rejection of him. He had written to his family in Manila to send his young son, Evaristo, to join him in Hong Kong. While his family agreed to this, it was the last request granted to him. He wrote to his family after that repeatedly to send him money. But his letters remained unanswered. Finally, he was able to raise some money to send young Evaristo to Manila to personally ask money from his family and relatives. In Manila, Evaristo was coldly received. He was given a few pesos, nothing more, and sternly told to return to Hong Kong. It appears that the stigma of being a *filibustero* extended to sons too.

Poor, timid, harmless, rejected by his own family, denied from living in the country of his birth, Balbino Mauricio had become less of the man that he used to be. Before 1872, Balbino Mauricio was wealthy and prominent. He was one of the busiest merchants in Manila. However, his implication in the Cavite Mutiny took away all of these. Face to face with Balbino Mauricio, Rizal must have realized the bitter fate that awaited those who crossed the government. It was also the same fate that could befall on him if the government chose to implicate him as a *filibustero*. Recalling the attitude of Balbino Mauricio's family of not having anything to do with him, Rizal realized the great fortitude displayed by his family in accepting him when he returned to the country in 1887. At that time, he was already marked as an *ereje* and *filibustero* due to the publication of the *Noli Me Tangere*. His parents could have done the same, that is, to refuse to have anything to do with him. But this was not what Francisco Mercado and Teodora Alonso did. On the contrary, they welcomed Rizal back in their home.

Rizal left Hong Kong on February 22, 1888 and arrived in his next stopover --- Yokohama, Japan --- six days later. In Yokohama, Rizal spent his time studying the Japanese people, in particular their customs, language, theater, and commerce. This part of Rizal's life serves as his introduction to a non-European people inasmuch as since 1882, the year when he started his travels, Rizal's exposure to other peoples were limited to Europeans.

While Rizal was in Yokohama, the Spanish authorities in Manila offered him a position at the Spanish Embassy there. The Spaniards had two reasons in offering this to Rizal. The first was to keep Rizal under the watchful eyes of officials in the Spanish embassy there. The second was to keep Rizal within arm's length of arrest. Inasmuch as under international law the Spanish Embassy in Yokohama constituted an extension of Spanish territory, Rizal could easily be detained and sent back to the Philippines. In Yokohama, we see Rizal at the crossroads of his life. On one hand, he could reconcile with the Spanish Government. This would have given Rizal a "quieter" life, freed from harassment whether back in Calamba or else in the Spanish Embassy in Yokohama. On the other hand, he could continue exposing the abuses being committed by the colonial government and the friars. Rizal's choice eventually was the latter. He refused the offer of a posting at the Spanish Embassy in Yokohama and prepared to continue with his journey to Europe. The die was cast. By refusing to reconcile with the Government and the Church, Rizal continued being perceived as an *ereje* and a *filibustero*.

From Yokohama Rizal's next stop was San Francisco in America, arriving there on April 13, 1888. From San Francisco, Rizal travelled eastward, passing through various American cities such as Reno (Nevada), Denver (Colorado), Salt Lake (Utah), Chicago (Illinois) and finally arriving in New York on May 13, 1888. Rizal's impression of his travel to these cities was to marvel at the rise of America from a former colony to a progressive, modern, industrialized nation. It wouldn't be hard to surmise that Rizal must have also wanted the same progress to be felt by his countrymen. The Philippines, however, was prevented from achieving the same because of obstacles such as ignorance and blind faith that years of colonial rule have fostered.

Conclusion

Rizal left New York on May 16, 1888 and arrived in London nine days later. By the time he arrived in London, Rizal was already a *changed* man, embittered most probably by the events that transpired from the time that he arrived in the Philippines in August 1887 until his return to Europe in May 1888. This nine month period made Rizal more anti-colonial as shown by his relentless fervor to expose the evils and abuses that colonial rule has brought to his people. This nine month period also made Rizal more patriotic than ever as shown by his effort to sift through the abyss of times past and discover what is noble among pre-colonial Filipinos. This nine month period also made Rizal lose, to a certain degree, his optimism in the possibility of reforms being ever implemented in the country. All these would be seen in what Rizal would write from 1888 until 1891.

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RIZAL MEETS PIO VALENZUELA: The Conference of Jose Rizal and Pio Valenzuela in Dapitan

Arleigh Ross de la Cruz

In June 1896, Jose Rizal had a private meeting with Pio Valenzuela, the Katipunan emissary, to Dapitan to ask Rizal's approval regarding the Revolution. In that private conference, Rizal did not support the Katipunan's resolve for an immediate outbreak of the revolution. In his article entitled *Veneration Without Understanding*, Renato Constantino branded Rizal as a Filipino hero who "repudiated the revolution," and thus not worthy to be our national hero.

The purpose of this paper is to narrate and explain the events that transpired in the undisclosed meeting between Rizal and Valenzuela in Dapitan. By examining Pio Valenzuela's *Memoirs of the KKK and the Philippine Revolution,* the only primary source about this conference, this paper aims to provide new insights about Rizal's radical and revolutionary concepts, thus disproving the view that he was against the revolution.

KEYWORDS: Pio Valenzuela * Katipunan * Hero * Andres Bonifacio * Renato Constantino

Pio Valenzuela and his *Memoirs of the KKK and the Philippine Revolution*

The account of Pio Valenzuela entitled, *Memoirs of the KKK and the Philippine Revolution*, is the only primary source about the private conversation that happened between Jose Rizal and Pio Valenzuela in Dapitan. Pio Valenzuela, a native of Polo, Bulacan, was a member of the La Liga Filipina. He became a member of the Katipunan on March 21, 1895 and was elected as the fiscal general and surgeon general of its Supreme Council.[1] Like Rizal, Valenzuela is also a *medico*. He obtained his licentiate in Medicine from the University of Santo Tomas. In May 1896, he was elected by the Katipunan as its emissary to discuss with Rizal the resolution of the Katipunan regarding the immediate start the revolution.

The memoir of Valenzuela was originally written in Filipino and was translated into English by Luis Serrano of the Press Division of Malacañang. The memoir is made up of six parts and each section dealt with Valenzuela's recollection about the activities of the Katipunan. In this paper, Valenzuela's recollection about his secret meeting with Rizal was used as a primary source. To corroborate his account, the paper also used the memoir of Jose Alejandrino, a fellow *ilustrado* and friend of Rizal.

Valenzuela's Election as Katipunan Emissary and His Trip to Dapitan

On May 1, 1896, in a meeting held in Ugong, Pasig, the Katipunan decided to solicit right away funds for the purchase of arms and ammunitions from Japan. The motion was carried but it cannot be done unless it was submitted to Rizal for his approval. A Katipunan member must be elected in order to act as emissary to Dapitan. Because he has the highest educational attainment, Pio Valenzuela was elected. In his memoirs, Valenzuela remembers the day when he was elected as emissary to Dapitan.

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[1] Arturo E. Valenzuela Jr., *Dr. Pio Valenzuela and the Katipunan* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1996), pp. 1-8.

> *"...the assembled men embarked in seventeen small bancas and proceeded to Bitukang Manok River which leads to Antipolo. In that river the meeting was continued with the men aboard the bancas. The election of the men to go to Dapitan to consult Dr. Rizal was held. I was elected. My election was followed immediately by an offer from the members to collect money for my trip. The meeting ended at eleven o'clock in the morning, the closing being featured by two revolver shots-one fired by Andres Bonifacio and the other by Emilio Aguinaldo."*[1]

With a round-trip first class ticket worth P60.00, Pio Valenzuela went to Dapitan and used the name Procopio Bonifacio. Riding the steamship *Venus,* he arrived at the Bay of Dapitan on June 21, 1896. Together with him in the ship were Josephine Bracken; an Irish lady; Narcisa, Rizal's sister; and Angelica Lopez, Rizal's niece. When they reached Dapitan, the bay was not far from Rizal's residence because it was only five hundred meters away from the house of Dr. Rizal. From the *Venus,* Valenzuela together with two other companions, Raymundo Mata, a blind man and Rufino Magos, an attendant, proceeded directly to the house of Rizal in a banca. The three ladies who were with them in the ship rode a separate banca.

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[1] Pio Valenzuela, "My Election as Emissary To Dr. Jose Rizal," in *Memoirs of the KKK and the Philippine Revolution*, translated by Luis Serrano (Press Division, Malacanang, 1946), p. 2. See also National Heroes Commission, *Minutes of the Katipunan* (Manila: National Heroes Commission, 1964), pp.91-109.

The Private Meeting of Rizal and Valenzuela: Rizal's Advice to the Katipunan

Narcisa Rizal introduced Dr. Valenzuela to her brother, Jose Rizal. Dr. Rizal invited Valenzuela for dinner. After supper, Valenzuela expressed his desire to have a private conversation with Rizal. Valenzuela recounts the events that happened when he initiated a private meeting with Rizal.

> *"After supper, I expressed to the hero my desire to talk to him in private about a most interesting affair, and told him that the treatment of the blind man was only a secondary object of my visit to Dapitan. He went to the hospital, where we left my two companions, and from there we proceeded to a place between his house and the hospital, which was situated about fifty meters from the house."*[1]

While sitting on a bench, Valenzuela mentioned to Rizal his real intentions in coming to Dapitan. The secret conversation between Rizal and Valenzuela started when the latter explained the existence of the Katipunan. Valenzuela introduced Rizal to the nature and goal of the Katipunan. In his memoirs, he explained the Katipunan in this manner:

> *"There exists in Manila an association called Katipunan founded on the night of July 7, 1892, as a result of your arrest on the morning of that date. The object of the association is to seek the separation of the Philippines from Spain through violent means."*[2]

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[1] Pio Valenzuela, "My Conference With Dr. Rizal In Dapitan," in *Memoirs of the KKK and the Philippine Revolution*, translated by Luis Serrano (Press Division, Malacanang, 1946), pp-2-3.

[2] Ibid., p. 3.

After his introduction about the secret organization, the Katipunan emissary discussed with Rizal the resolutions of the Katipunan. The resolutions were the following:

1. *Attract to the Katipunan the intelligent and rich Filipinos;*

2. *Collect funds for the purpose of buying arms and everything necessary for the revolution;*

3. *Send a commission of intelligent Filipinos to Japan which will take charge of buying arms and ammunitions and soliciting the help and protection of the Japanese government in behalf of the Filipino revolutionists;*

4. *Procure the separation of the Philippines from Spain by force of arms, the only means to secure the independence of the Philippines under the protection and help of Japan;*

5. *Submit these resolutions for the approval of Dr. Rizal for which purpose Dr. Pio Valenzuela is named to go to Dapitan in order to inform Dr. Rizal of these resolutions and to wait for his answer.*

6. *In the event that the rich Filipinos refuse to cooperate in this great enterprise, each member of the Katipunan will contribute weekly all that he can possibly contribute."* [1]

Rizal did not oppose the resolutions of the Katipunan. In fact, he approved these resolutions and even suggested that they be complied with as soon as possible. Valenzuela recounts the response of Rizal to the resolution of the Katipunan:

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[1] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

> *"The resolutions of the association are very just, patriotic, and above all, timely because now Spain is weakened by the revolution in Cuba. I approve these resolutions and I suggest that they be complied with as early as possible in order to take advantage of the opportunity."*[1]

However, the tone of the conversation changed when Valenzuela commented that "the revolution will break out prematurely, even, without having arms."[2] Upon hearing this, Rizal, formerly a supporter of the revolution changed his view about the resolution. He justified his dissent by saying that:

> *"A revolution without arms should never be started against an armed nation. Its consequences will be fatal and disastrous to the country. The Filipinos will necessarily have to lose owing to lack of arms. The Spaniards ... will annihilate the Filipinos..."*[3]

Rizal opposed the immediate start of the revolution because he believed that a country without sufficient arms could not win a revolution. He did not advocate the revolutionary program of the Katipunan because he believed that its impact would be catastrophic for the Filipinos. To help the Katipunan prepare for the revolution, Rizal gave them a number of advices.

His first advice was directed towards the Katipunan leadership. He suggested that before starting the revolution, they must ensure that they have sufficient arms. He even told Valenzuela that all the precautionary measures to prevent the discovery of the secret organization should be done. He advised him that the principal chiefs of the Katipunan should work hard to prevent the premature shedding of blood until such time that sufficient arms are available to start the revolution. Rizal was not the only one who gave this advice to the Katipunan. Apolinario Mabini, the chief adviser of Emilio Aguinaldo, when he was approached by the Katipunan to seek advice regarding the beginning of the revolution also shared the views of Rizal.

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[1] Ibid., p. 4.

[2] Ibid

[3] Ibid., pp. 4-5.

According to Mabini:

> *"...if the Katipunan were prepared to stage a revolution, Father Mariano Gil could be killed, otherwise, the resolution of the Katipunan to this effect should not be carried out...[because] ...as soon as the Spanish authorities discovered the death of the priest there would be persecution,...this... would be the real beginning of the revolution."*[1]

Since Bonifacio was aware of their inadequacy in terms of armaments, the Supremo decided to call off the assassination plot against Fr. Mariano Gil.

Rizal also advised the Katipunan leaders to attract "all the rich and influential persons of Manila and the provinces"[2] to join the secret organization. Rizal wanted the rich and influential people to join the revolution because they have the resources that could help in the success of the revolution.

To attract the rich, Rizal advised them to seek the help of Antonio Luna. Rizal believed that Luna would be very helpful in the revolution because he is a "a very intelligent man" and "has a free access to the homes of wealthy Filipinos." He can "direct the campaign in case hostilities break out."[1] He can also serve as "liaison between the masses and the educated and wealthy Filipinos."[2] This advice was accepted by the Katipunan leadership. Mamerto Natividad and Moises Salvador, two Katipuneros, were tasked to transmit the recommendations of Rizal to Antonio Luna through Jose Alejandrino, a fellow ilustrado. The Katipunan hoped that Antonio Luna would "join the K.K.K. as an intermediary between the rich and educated class and the proletariat which constituted the great majority of the members of the Katipunan."[3] Unfortunately, Luna declined the offer to join the association because, like Rizal and Mabini, Luna believes that the revolution was still premature.

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[1] Pio Valenzuela, "Two Sessions Of The Secret Chamber Of The Katipunan," in *Memoirs of the KKK and the Philippine Revolution*, translated by Luis Serrano (Press Division, Malacanang, 1946), p. 2.

[2] Pio Valenzuela, "My Conference With Dr. Rizal In Dapitan," in *Memoirs of the KKK and the Philippine Revolution*, translated by Luis Serrano (Press Division, Malacanang, 1946), p. 8.

If ever the Katipunan fails to get the support of the rich, Rizal gave another advice. He told Valenzuela to ensure that the rich Filipinos would remain neutral. Rizal notes that:

> *"Those [rich] Filipinos will be your worst enemies if you commit the imprudence of attacking the Spaniards without the necessary preparation. When they see you without arms, they will go over the side of Spain to persecute you; and being Filipinos and rich too, they will win over your soldiers with their money. See to it that these persons are at least neutral-that they neither help the Spaniards nor the Filipinos."*[4]

Rizal was correct about the attitude of the rich Filipinos regarding the Katipunan. Many did not want to join the secret organization. In Valenzuela's memoirs, the Katipunan tried to ask the cooperation of Francisco Rojas, a rich Filipino. They appealed to Rojas in order for the Filipino millionaire to donate one thousand pesos for the purchase of arms from Japan. Unfortunately, Rojas declined the invitation. Worse, he even told the Katipunan that if they continue to molest him; he would confess the existence and activities of the secret organization to the Spaniards. He even branded the Katipunan as "[an] armed uprising against Spain … [that] was the foolish idea of certain disillusioned Filipinos."[1]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Jose Alejandrino, *The Price of Freedom (La Senda Del Sacrificio): Episodes and Anecdotes of our Struggle for Freedom* (Manila, n.p., 1949, p. 4).

[3] Alejandrino, *The Price of Freedom*, pp. 103-104.

[4] Pio Valenzuela, "My Conference With Dr. Rizal In Dapitan," in *Memoirs of the KKK and the Philippine Revolution*, translated by Luis Serrano (Press Division, Malacanang, 1946), p. 8.

In the duration of their private meeting, Rizal mentioned to Valenzuela that he would like to work as a military doctor in Cuba. Renato Constantino used this as a proof that Rizal was really against the revolution. On the contrary, this act further proved Rizal's revolutionary ideals. This was clearly explained by Rizal to Valenzuela in the same private conference in Dapitan. According to Rizal, he applied for the post of military doctor to Cuba because he wanted to "study the war in a practical way; go through the Cuban soldiery if he thought that he would find there that which would remedy the bad situation in the Philippines."[2]

The conversation between Rizal and Valenzuela ended when the latter gave Rizal a revolver. Rizal was pleased to accept the gift of the Katipunan emissary. As a token for his visit, Rizal gave Valenzuela a *Kamuning* cane carved by Rizal himself. The meeting that transpired between Rizal and Valenzuela in Dapitan proved that Rizal was not against the revolution. The advices of Rizal to the Katipunan were reasonable and necessary to ensure that the revolution will be successful.

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[1] Pio Valenzuela, "Two Sessions Of The Secret Chamber Of The Katipunan," in *Memoirs of the KKK and the Philippine Revolution*, translated by Luis Serrano (Press Division, Malacanang, 1946), p. 1.

[2] Pio Valenzuela, "My Conference With Dr. Rizal In Dapitan," in *Memoirs of the KKK and the Philippine Revolution*, translated by Luis Serrano (Press Division, Malacanang, 1946), p. 12.

Conclusion

A closer examination of the accounts regarding the conference of Pio Valenzuela with Jose Rizal proved that Rizal was not against the revolution. Constantino's view about Rizal's lack revolutionary ideals should be reconsidered. Rizal did not accept the resolution of the Katipunan to start the revolution against Spain because the organization lacked sufficient arms and funds to start the bloody uprising. Other ilustrados and intellectuals also shared Rizal's view. Both Antonio Luna and Apolinario Mabini gave similar advices to the Katipunan when they were asked separately about the start the revolution. They also believe that the revolution is still premature due to the Katipunan's lack of arms and support from the rich Filipinos.

In that private meeting between Valenzuela and Rizal, Rizal showed that he did not oppose the revolution. On the contrary, he was emphatic and supportive to the revolution. This was proven when he gave the Katipunan several advices that they should do in order to prepare for the start of the revolution. If Rizal was against the revolution, he could have just asked Valenzuela to return to Manila without giving any advice. It should be emphasized that it was not only Valenzuela who was aware of Rizal's revolutionary ideals. Jose Alejandrino, a compatriot and fellow ilustrado of Rizal, corroborates Valenzuela's account about Rizal's radical views. In his memoirs, Jose Alejandrino mentions the following:

> *"It appears strange to me that some of his biographers have presented Rizal as completely opposed to the revolution of 1896... he [Rizal] opined that the revolt should be delayed and proposed that the cooperation of the educated and rich elements be assured first..."*[1]

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[1] Alejandrino, *The Price of Freedom*, p. 4.

Based from all of the accounts presented, it can be ascertained that Jose Rizal was not against the revolution. He was a hero who was in favor of the revolution. Rizal opposed the Katipunan resolution to start the revolution right away not because he was against it. He did not advocate its immediate start because some requirements to ensure its success were not yet satisfied.

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RECONCILING FAITH AND REASON:

Rizal's Religious Views in the Rizal-Pastells Letters

Arleigh Ross de la Cruz

Jose Rizal engaged Pablo Pastells, S.J. in a scholarly exchange of religious ideas while he was exiled in Dapitan. Rizal wrote five letters to the Fr. Pastells which were dated as follows: September 1, 1892, November 11, 1892, January 9, 1893, April 5, 1893 and June 1893. On the other hand, the letter replies, written by Fr. Pastells in the walled city of Manila, were dated October 12, 1892, December 8, 1892, February 2, 1893 and April 28, 1893.

Using these letters as basis, this paper would like to explain the religious views of Rizal. It hopes to clarify Rizal's religious concept and beliefs on Catholicism and disprove the accusation that he was a Protestant.

KEYWORDS: Pablo Pastells * Faith * Reason* Protestantism * God

Introduction

The Age of Enlightenment in Europe influenced the philosophy and values of Jose Rizal. His exposure to the works of many European liberal intellectuals shaped not only his political and social views but also his religious views. The liberal ideas that Rizal acquired abroad changed his conservative Catholic views. His liberal views on religion were clearly presented in the letters of Rizal to Fr. Pablo Pastells.

While Rizal was exiled in Dapitan, he had a series of correspondence with Fr. Pablo Pastells. Born in Gerona, Spain in 1846, Fr. Pastells became part of the Society of Jesus in 1866. He arrived in the Philippines in September 1875 and served as the subprefect of the boarders and director of the *Congregacion Mariana* of Ateneo Municipal in Manila. Rizal became close to Fr. Pastells because the former was the prefect of the *Congregacion*. When the Jesuit priest was still at the Ateneo, Fr. Pastells was the regular confessor, spiritual director and religious mentor of Rizal. In 1876, Fr. Pastells was assigned to Bislig and Caraga, two mission areas in the province of Surigao in Mindanao. During his missionary works in Surigao, he became the local superior of the community in Bislig from 1878-1884 and then in Tagaloan in 1887. Fr. Pastells returned to Manila in November 1887 and served the acting superior of the mission in the Philippines. Finally, on July 5, 1888, he was appointed superior of the Philippine Mission. It was during the latter part of 1892 until the end of Pastells's term as Jesuit Superior in 1893 when the Rizal-Pastells exchange of letters happened.[1]

Fr. Pastells started the religious discussions with Rizal through letters when the former sent the latter some religious books. The scholarly exchange of religious ideas was documented in letters. Dr. Rizal wrote five letters to the Jesuit Superior while he was exiled in Dapitan. They were dated as follows: September 1, 1892, November 11, 1892, January 9, 1893, April 5, 1893 and June 1893. On the other hand, the letter replies, written by Fr. Pastells in the walled city of Manila, were dated October 12, 1892, December 8, 1892, February 2, 1893 and April 28, 1893.[1] Using the letters of Rizal to Fr. Pablo Pastells, this paper would like to explain the religious views of Rizal. It hopes to clarify Rizal's religious concept and beliefs on Catholicism and disprove the accusation that he was a Protestant.

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[1] Raul J. Bonoan, S.J. *The Rizal-Pastells Correspondence: The Hitherto Unpublished Letters of Jose Rizal and Portions of Fr. Pablo Pastells' Fourth Letter and Translation of the Correspondence, together with a Historical Background and Theological Critique* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994), pp.3, 8-10 and 25-27.

God's Gifts of Individual Judgment and Conscience

Rizal condemned the concept of blind obedience. In his letter to the young women of Malolos, he was against the blind submission of the Filipinos to the thoughts, unjust order and extreme complacency of the Spanish friars. In his message to the women of Malolos, he pointed out that God gave man individual reason and free will to differentiate the just from the unjust. This, according to Rizal, should be used in making decisions in life. The importance of using one's individual judgment was reiterated by Rizal in his September 1, 1892 letter to Fr. Pastells.[2]

> "…Your Reverence should consider it nonsense for one to wish to look at his affairs through the prism of his own judgment and self-love. I must be misinterpreting your words, for truly I do not know what to make of them. Although I do not know at all what deeds of mine Your Reverence is referring to, nonetheless it does not seem to

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[1] Austin Coates, *Rizal: Philippine Nationalist and Martyr* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 248 and Raul J. Bonoan, S.J. *The Rizal-Pastells Correspondence,* pp. 3 and 121-216.

[2] Leon Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino* (Pasig City: Guerrero Publishing, 1998), p. 442.

> me so objectionable that one should look at his own affairs through the prism of his own judgment and self-love, for God must have given them to us for some purpose. For, if we should do so through prisms not our own, this would be quite impractical, and since there would be as many prisms as individuals, we should not know which to choose (and to choose one we would have to rely ultimately on our own private judgment, unless we fall into the absurdity of endlessly looking for prisms to judge others prisms by)…" [1]

Rizal believes that God gave us the freedom to use our own judgment. We should use our own judgment because it is impractical to accept and follow the judgment of other people. Rizal asks why God gave us this gift of individual judgment if we will not use it but instead seek the judgment of others. Rizal elaborated his concept of individual judgment and compared it to a lantern.[2] In his first letter to Fr. Pastells, Rizal mentioned that:

> "… judgment … is like a lantern with which a father wishes to equip each one of his sons before a journey through rough and winding paths. He will not give an oil lamp to one who must go over cliffs and precipices, for the oil may spill. He will equip another who will cross mountain slopes with a lamp with durable glass, and a metal screen, so he is well-protected like miners against inflammable gases…Let each one strive to keep his lamp and improve it; let him not envy or despise the lamp of another,…"[3]

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[1] Raul J. Bonoan, S.J. *The Rizal-Pastells Correspondence,* p.122.

[2] Leon Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino,* p. 443.

[3] Raul J. Bonoan, S.J. *The Rizal-Pastells Correspondence,* pp.122-123.

Aside from individual judgment, man must also use his own conscience. Rizal believed that a person's decision should be guided by individual conscience. Since this is a gift from God, one's conscience should be used to guide, qualify and judge man's actions. In the fourth letter of Rizal to Fr. Pastells, dated April 5, 1893, he explained the importance of conscience in this manner.

> "...God must have created me for a good end, and I have no better guide to lead me to this end than my conscience, my conscience alone, which decides and qualifies my actions..."[1]

"I am not a Protestant!"

In his letters to Rizal, Fr. Pastells called Rizal a Protestant because of the latter's liberal religious views. The Jesuit superior believed that his exposure to the ideas of the European freethinkers converted him to Protestantism. In his second letter to Fr. Pastells, dated November 11, 1892, Rizal answered the accusation in this manner:

> "And to my being a Protestant, if Your Reverence had known how much I gave up by not professing conformity to Protestant ideas, you would not say such a thing. If I had no respect for religion, if I took religion as a matter of convenience or the art of getting alone well in life, instead of being a poor exile, I would now be rich, free, crowned with honors."[2]

His response to the Protestant issue was very clear. If Rizal converted to Protestantism then he would not be in Dapitan. He could have become a free, rich and happy man. He could have been a happy married man if he only accepted Protestantism. Religious conflict between Rizal and Nellie

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[1] Ibid.,pp. 184-185.

[2] Ibid., p. 140.

Boustead caused the lovers' sad break-up. Ms. Boustead was a devoted Protestant and as such, he wanted Rizal to accept Protestantism before they could get married. Rizal, a disheartened man after knowing that Leonor Rivera married Kipping, found love and happiness in the arms of Nellie Boustead. However, their love did not prosper because Rizal did not want to accept Protestantism. He remained as a Catholic and sacrificed his happiness and love to Nellie.[1]

Rizal did not accept Protestantism because even though he was exposed to Protestant beliefs, he remained a defender of the Catholic faith. This was written in the second letter of Rizal to Fr. Pastells.

> "…Rizal a Protestant! I laugh inside me and I am able to control myself only because I respect everything you say. Your Reverence should have listened to my discussions with a Protestant pastor in the long twilights of summer in the solitude of Odenwald. There, conversing slowly and calmly, with freedom to speak, we exchanged views concerning the moral values of peoples and the influence of their respective faiths on their lives."[2]

Even though Rizal did not accept Protestantism, he did not consider the Protestant religion and other religious denominations as enemies of the Catholic faith. For Rizal, everyone should respect the existence of different religions and tolerate their religious beliefs. He argues that religion should not divide people. It should be a way to make friends and not enemies. Rizal believed in the multiplicity of religions. For him, Protestants and Catholics have no differences because they are all "servants of the same God."[1] This was written in the letter of Rizal to Fr. Pastells dated November 11, 1892.

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[1] Leon Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino*, pp. 242-243 and Raul J. Bonoan, S.J. *The Rizal-Pastells Correspondence*, p. 140.

[2] Raul J. Bonoan, S.J. *The Rizal-Pastells Correspondence*, p. 140.

> *"...A great respect for the good faith of the adversary, and for ideas which were necessarily poles apart due to the diversity of race, education and age, led us almost always to the conclusion that religions, no matter what they are, should not make men enemies of one another, but friends, and good friends at that."*
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> *"...From these discussions, which took place almost every day for more than three months, I think I got nothing more, if my judgment does not fail me, than a profound respect for any idea conceived with sincerity and practiced with conviction. Almost every month the Catholic parish priest of a little town on the banks of the Rhine came to visit* [the Protestant Pastor], *and this priest, an intimate friend of the Protestant, gave me an example of Christian brotherhood. They considered themselves two servants of the same God, and instead of spending their time quarrelling with each other, each one did his duty, leaving it to their Master to judge afterwards who had best interpreted His will..."*[2]

Rizal's Concept of the Creator

Rizal also explained his concept of the Creator. In his third letter to Fr. Pastells dated January 9, 1893, Rizal shared his thoughts on the nature of His God.

> *"I firmly believe, by reason and by necessity more than out of faith, in the existence*

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[1] Leon Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino*, p. 446.

[2] Ibid., pp. 445-446.

> *of a Creative Being. Who is He? What human sounds, what syllables in what language can capture the name of this Being whose works overwhelm the imagination of anyone who thinks on them? Who can give Him a suitable name when some miserable creatures down here, with transient power, has two or three names, three or four surnames and many titles and dignities?*[1]
>
> *We call him Dios ... What is He like? I would attribute to Him in an infinite degree all the beautiful and holy qualities that my mind can conceive, if I were not restrained by fear of my own ignorance...For all that, I dare believe Him infinitely wise, powerful and good; my idea of the infinite is imperfect and confused, seeing the marvels of His works, the order that reigns among them, their magnificence and overwhelming vastness, and the goodness that shines in all."* [2]

In this letter to Fr. Pastells, Rizal still believed in the existence of a Divine Being and the God of Creation. For him, God was the infinitely wise, powerful and good who created everything in the world. Rizal described God as the one who "recognizes the effect, recognizes the cause."[3] When Fr. Pastells read this in Rizal's letter, he felt some sense of assurance that Rizal was still a Catholic who continued to believe in the existence of the Creator.

Myth of Church Infallibility

The Age of Enlightenment also influenced Rizal's views about the Catholic Church. For Rizal, the Church is not a perfect institution. Like any other institutions, the Church has human imprints therefore; it also has errors and defects. Rizal believes that the Church may be better that any other institutions but it is still guilty of committing mistakes. In his fourth letter to Fr. Pastells, Rizal explained to the Jesuit Superior his views about the nature of the Church.

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[1] Ibid., p. 448.

[2] Ibid., p. 449.

[3] Raul J. Bonoan, S.J. *The Rizal-Pastells Correspondence*, p. 183.

> "...*[Your Reverence]* ... cannot convince me that the Catholic Church has been endowed with infallibility. The Church too bears the human imprint. She is an institution more perfect than others, but human just the same with all the defects, errors, and problems peculiar to any institution of human making.... She possesses more wisdom and enjoys more efficient government than most other religions ... But like all the rest, she has obscure points... "[1]

Conclusion

The letters of Rizal to Fr. Pastells proved that Rizal was not a Protestant. His religious views and philosophy clearly showed that Rizal was a liberal Catholic who did not just accept the concept of blind obedience. As an enlightened Filipino and freethinker, Rizal tried to reconcile his concept of reason and faith. For him, the religiosity of man should not be based on blind obedience but it has to be justified by reason. Through his correspondence to Fr. Pastells, Rizal proved that he still believes in God, the Ultimate Creator. For Rizal, God gave man a lantern of judgment and conscience in making life decisions. These gifts should guide him in his everyday actions. Man, according to Rizal, should not rely on the decision of the Church because like any other institutions, the Church has defects and errors.

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[1] Raul J. Bonoan, S.J. *The Rizal-Pastells Correspondence*, p. 185.

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TUNGO SA MAHUSAY AT MALIKHAING PAGTUTURO NG KASAYSAYAN:

Workshop sa Paggamit ng Primaryang Batis sa Pagtuturo ng Kasaysayan

Jonathan Balsamo

May dalawang pangunahing tuon ang workshop na ito. Una, bigyang-linaw ang kahulugan ng "mahusay na pagtuturo ng kasaysayan" batay sa konteksto ng mga guro at mag-aaral sa kasalukuyang takbo o kalakaran ng Edukasyon at Historiograpiya sa loob at labas ng bansa. Ikalawa, bumuo at makapagsagawa ng mga mapanuri at malikhaing pamamaraan ng pagtuturo ng kasaysayan na gumagamit ng mga primaryang batis o dokumento.

Sa paggamit ng primaryang batis sa pagtuturo ng kasaysayan, hindi lamang KAALAMANG PANGKASAYSAYAN ang matutunan ng mga mag-aaral kundi na rin ang KASANAYAN (skill) sa KRITIKAL na pagsusuri at pagbasa ng samut saring tekstong historikal. Sa gayon, magiging malawak at malalim ang kaalaman at kasanayan ng ating mga mag-aaral sa pag-aaral ng ating kasaysayan.

Unang Gawain
Pagtukoy sa mga Katangian ng Mahusay na Guro ng Kasaysayan

- Sa isang papel na may dalawang hanay, isusulat ng mga guro ang naaalala nilang mga katangian ng kanilang mga naging guro sa Kasaysayan na KINAAAYAWAN nila (unang hanay) at GUSTUNG-GUSTO nila (ikalawang hanay).

- Tatawag ng ilang mga guro upang magbahagi ng kanilang isinulat na mga katangian. Tutukoy ng 4-5 pangkalahatang

- katangian ng GURO ng Kasaysayan na KINAAYAWAN at GUSTUNG-GUSTO. Ang mga katangiang nasa hanay ng KINAAAYAWAN ang dapat IWASAN at ang mga katangiang nasa hanay ng GUSTUNG-GUSTO ang dapat ituring na hamon sa bawat isa.

Maikling Lektura

- Ibabahagi ni G. Balsamo ang resulta ng pag-aaral na isinagawa ni Dr. Flordeliza Reyes ukol sa mga "Outstanding Teachers" bilang pantulong na INPUT sa Unang Gawain. Isusunod dito ang maikling pagtalakay sa mga TREND at BAGONG PAG-AARAL sa EDUKASYON at HISTORIOGRAPIYA sa Pilipinas at ibang bansa.

- Tutukoy ng isang pamamaraang angkop dito bilang panimula sa IKALAWANG GAWAIN, ang paggamit ng Primaryang Batis sa Pagtuturo ng Kasaysayan.

Ikalawang Gawain
Pagsusuri ng Primaryang Batis at Pagbuo ng Pamamaraan ng Pagtuturo

- Bilang pakitang-turo, magbibigay ng halimbawa ng pagsusuri sa primaryang batis si G. Balsamo gamit ang DEKLARASYON NG KALAYAAN NG PILIPINAS.

- Bubuo ng 8-10 pangkat, para sa 10 dokumentong susuriin. Magpapangkat-pangkat ang bawat pangkat upang sama-samang suriin ang dokumentong ibibigay sa kanila. Isusulat nila ang kanilang pagsusuri sa Manila Paper para sa Pag-uulat sa Ikatlong Bahagi ng sesyon.

Ikatlong Bahagi
Malikhaing Pag-uulat ng Kritikal na Pagsusuri

- Sandaling iuulat ng bawat pangkat SA PINAKAMALIKHAING PARAAN ang kanilang nasuri sa mga dokumentong ibinigay sa kanila.

- Batay sa kanilang karanasan, pag-uusapan ang kahalagahan ng paggamit ng primaryang batis upang MAGING MALALIM at KRITIKAL ang PAGTUTURO/PAG-AARAL ng KASAYSAYAN. Magtatapos ang talakayan sa pagtukoy ng samut saring pamamaraan upang maging malikhain ang pag-uulat o pagbabahagi ng isang aralin sa kasaysayan.

REPUBLIC ACT No. 1425
Rizal Law

House Bill No. 5561
Senate Bill No. 438

An Act to include in the Curricula of all Public and Private Schools, Colleges and Universities courses on the Life, Works and Writings of JOSE RIZAL, particularly his novels NOLI ME TANGERE and EL FILIBUSTERISMO, Authorizing the Printing and Distribution Thereof, and for Other Purposes

Whereas, today, more than any other period of our history there is a need for a rededication to the ideals of freedom and nationalism for which our heroes lived and died;

Whereas, it is meet that in honoring them, particularly the national hero and patriot, Jose Rizal, we remember with special fondness and devotion their lives and works that have shaped the national character;

Whereas the life, works and writings of Jose Rizal particularly his novels *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* are a constant and inspiring source of patriotism with which the minds of the youth, especially during their formative and decisive years in school, should be suffused;

Whereas all educational institutions are under the supervision of, and subject to regulation by the State, and all schools are enjoined to develop moral character, personal discipline, civic conscience, and to teach the duties of citizenship;

Now, therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Philippines in Congress assembled:

Section 1

Courses on the life, works and writings of Jose Rizal, particularly his novels Noli Me Tangere and El Filibusterismo, shall be included in the curricula of all schools, colleges and universities, public or private; provided that in the collegiate courses, the original or unexpurgated editions of the *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* or their English translations shall be used as basic texts.

> The Board of National Education is hereby authorized and directed to adopt forthwith measures to implement and carry out the provisions of this Section. The Board of National Education is hereby authorized and directed to adopt forthwith measures to implement and carry out the provisions of this Section, including the writing and printing of appropriate primers, readers and textbooks. The Board shall, within sixty (60) days from the effectivity of this Act promulgate rules and regulations, including those of a disciplinary nature, to carry out and enforce the provisions of this Act. Said rules and regulations shall take effect thirty (30) days after their publication in the official Gazette.

Section 2

It shall be obligatory on all schools, colleges and universities to keep copies of the original and unexpurgated editions of the *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, as well as of Rizal's other works and biography. The said unexpurgated editions of the *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* or their translation in English as well as other writings of Rizal shall be included in the list of approved books for required reading in all public or private schools, colleges and universities.

The Board of National Education shall determine the adequacy of the number of books, depending upon the enrollment of the school, college or university.

Section 3
The Board of National Education shall cause the translation of the *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, as well as other writings of Jose Rizal into English, Tagalog and the principal dialects; cause them to be printed in cheap, popular editions; and cause them to be distributed, free of charge, to persons desiring to read them, through the Purok organizations and Barrio Councils throughout the country.

Section 4
Nothing on this Act shall be construed as amending or repealing Section 927 of the Administrative Code, prohibiting the discussion of religious doctrines by public school teachers and other persons engaged in any public school.

Section 5
The sum of three hundred thousand pesos is hereby authorized to be appropriated in the National Treasury to carry out the purposes of this Act.

Section 6
This Act shall take effect upon its approval.

APPROVED: June 12, 1956

JOSE RIZAL AND THE PHILIPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION: An Enduring Partnership 1955-2007

Celestina Boncan

The topic that was given to me is Jose Rizal. Let me cite to you something that I find queer about lectures on Rizal. They almost always take place, either in June, to commemorate his birth, or in December, to commemorate his birth. The June lectures center on the boy Rizal growing up in Calamba or studying in Manila. The December lectures, on the other hand, dwell on Rizal's execution and martyrdom. Hence, the image that epitomizes lectures held in June is the family house in Calamba while the image that one gets from lectures held in December is the monument at the Luneta.

When I was looking for an appropriate aspect about Rizal to discuss with you today, I was in a bit of a dilemma. So much has already been said about Rizal. I then decided to talk about "Jose Rizal and the Philippine Historical Association: An Enduring Partnership, 1955-2007." I will discuss the importance of Rizal to the PHA and what the PHA has done in the past, from the time that the PHA was founded in 1955, until the present, 2007, in upholding the memory of Rizal and strengthening his vision among our people.

The PHA was founded on September 18, 1955 by a group of prominent historians, among them, Teodoro Agoncillo, Encarnacion Alzona, Celedonio Ancheta, Gabriel Fabella, Esteban de Ocampo, Nicolas Zafra, and Gregorio Zaide. Their aim was to establish a scholarly association of historians devoted to the propagation of historical knowledge and studies, principally pertaining to the Philippines.

The partnership between Rizal and the PHA began a year before the PHA was founded. An executive order by President Ramon Magsaysay paved the road for this. On August 10, 1954 President Magsaysay signed Executive Order No. 52 "Creating the Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission." The president called Rizal "the apostle of Filipino nationalism, martyr, and hero who gladly dedicated his whole life in order to secure for his countrymen the blessings of individual freedom and good government." The Commission was tasked to promote and direct commemorative celebrations throughout the Philippines so as to properly observe the centennial of the birth of Jose Rizal.

Some of the "big guns" of the PHA became involved in the Commission. For example, Esteban de Ocampo (PHA president in 1960, 1963, 1964, 1969, 1970) was the Commission's chief researcher. It was not uncommon for him to be invited to speak, especially before public school teachers, on the life and works of Rizal. Dalmacio Martin (PHA President 1961) and Encarnacion Alzona were members of the Translation Panel which was tasked to translate Rizal's works from Spanish into English.

On June 12, 1956 the Senate and the House of Representatives passed Republic Act No. 1425 "An act to include in the curricula of all public and private schools, colleges and universities courses on the life, works, and writings of Jose Rizal, particularly his novels NOLI ME TANGERE and EL FILIBUSTERISMO, authorizing and approving the distribution thereof, and for other purposes." In view of the novelty of the course and the tremendous burden awaiting the teachers of the Rizal Course, Gabriel Fabella (PHA President 1955, 1956, 1957, 1959) wrote an article entitled "Teaching Rizal in Schools" where he suggested a number of ways on how to teach the course. Dalmacio Martin (PHA President 1961) in his article "Rizal in the Philippine School System" provided arguments for the passage of the Rizal Law (Republic Act No. 1425) by noting the early place of Rizal in the affection of the Filipino people and the many number of books on Rizal's life and works that had been published and continue to be published after his death..

In September 1960, one year before the country marked the birth centennial of Jose Rizal, the PHA came out with a Special Rizal Issue. The issue looked at our national hero in the following ways:

RIZAL THE GREAT HERO (*The Greatness of Dr. Jose Rizal* by Frank Laubach, *Who Made Rizal Our Foremost National Hero and Why?* by Esteban de Ocampo, *Why Rizal is Great* by Carlos Quirino)

RIZAL THE NATIONALIST AND INTERNATIONALIST (*Rizal and His Ideas on Nationalism* by Lorenzo Sumulong, *Rizal: Pioneer Nationalist and Internationalist* by Camilo Osias, *The Mainsprings of Rizal's Ideas on Internationalism* by Sotero Laurel, *RDLM and Jose Rizal* by Leoncio Lopez Rizal)

RIZAL THE LINGUIST (*Rizal and the Power of Language* by Edmundo Reyes Luna, *Rizal and the English Language* by Leopoldo Serrano, *Rizal and the Tagalog Language* by Sixto Orosa)

RIZAL AND HIS TIME (*The Fundamental Values Cherished by the People in Rizal's Time* by Dalmacio Martin, *Jose Rizal and His Century* by Celedonio Resureccion, *Rizal and the Spanish Government* by Pacifico Dumandan Sr.)

RIZAL IN OUR TIME (*The Trials of the Rizal Bill* by Jose Laurel Jr., *The Indolence of the Filipinos --- Seventy Years After* by Emmanuel Yap, *What We Owe Rizal* by Jose Romero)

The issue also had articles written in Spanish (*Rizal y Su Muerte* by Antonio Iraizoz, *Rizal Hispanista* by Belen Arguelles, *Rizal, Modelo de Nobleza e Hidalgo* by Domingo Abella, *Rizal a Filipinas, Filipinas a Rizal* by Norberto Romualdez).

In the words of the editor, Dalmacio Martin, "That Rizal is great, why he is great, why he is our national hero and deservedly so, is amply discussed between the covers of this issue." He continued, saying, "It is evident that our efforts to study Rizal, to inculcate his principles and teachings in our youth, to spread these principles and teachings to our people and to influence them to live the Rizal way should be endless, systematic and determined."

Three months later, the PHA included six articles about Rizal for its December 1960 issue (*Rizal as a Living Lesson* by Gilbert Perez, *Jose Rizal our National Hero and Martyr* by Michael Goldenberg, *The Defense of the Noli Me Tangere by Padre Vicente Garcia* by Purificacion Quinto, *The Rizal Courses and the Teacher* by Rocio Dumaual, *Who Gave the Title Ultimo Adios to Rizal's Last Poem* by Marcelino Foronda Jr. *Jose Rizal as a Physician* by Sixto Orosa).

In 1961, the PHA released another special issue on Rizal to mark his birth centennial. This was a special issue of its journal, *Historical Bulletin,* entitled "Rizal in Retrospect" with the late Carlos Quirino as editor. The edition contains a variety of articles. Three are by Rizal's contemporaries --- Marcelo H. del Pilar (*A Defense of the Noli*), Ferdinand Blumentritt (*Critique of the Noli*), and Maximo Viola (*My Travels with Rizal*). Four are on different aspects of Rizal as a person --- as a Humanist (by Horacio de la Costa), as an ophthalmologist (by Geminiano de Ocampo) as a Physician (by Sixto Y. Orosa), and as a Poet (by Arsenio P. Dizon). Two try to decipher the enigma that Rizal is --- Bernabe Africa through his political thinking (*The Political Views of Rizal*) and Nicolas Zafra through his milieu (*Rizal and His Times*). One article treats the last days of Rizal --- *Trial and Execution of Rizal* by Domingo Abella. Mauro Garcia provides a translation of the *Mi Ultimo Adios* while Armando J. Malay talks about the *Mythology in Rizal's Novels*.

Years later, the PHA continued to write articles about Rizal and to publish them in its *Historical Bulletin*. The March 1966 issue of the Historical Bulletin, among others, included the papers that were delivered in the PHA Symposium on "Rizal and the Development of Filipino Youth and Nationalism" (*Jose Rizal, The Nationalist* by Gregorio Zaide, *Rizal on Youth* by Ricardo Arcilla, *Rizal and the Public Conscience* by Celedonio Resurreccion).

In 1988, under the leadership of then president Napoleon Casambre (PHA President 1988, 1989) and other PHA stalwarts like Bonifacio Salamanca (PHA President 1979, 1980), Romeo Cruz (PHA President 1982, 1983), Rosario Cortes (PHA President 1984, 1985), Oscar Evangelista (PHA President 1986, 1987), Gloria Santos (PHA President 1972), Celedonio Resurreccion (PHA President 1973, 1974), and Minerva Gonzalez (PHA President 1977, 1978), the PHA launched a movement to celebrate the centennial of the 1896 Revolution and the martyrdom of Rizal. The movement's aim was to hold seminars every year from hereon till 1998 focusing on a theme that was appropriate to the centenary celebration of that year. Hence, it was the establishment of the La Solidaridad (association) for 1988, the publication of the *El Filibusterismo* and the *La Solidaridad* (newspaper) for 1989, the founding of the *La Liga Filipina* and the *Katipunan* for 1992, the exile of Rizal to Dapitan for 1994, the publication of the *Kalayaan* for 1995, the outbreak of the Revolution for 1996, the establishment of the Tejeros Republic for 1997, and the proclamation of Philippine Independence, convening of the Malolos Congress, writing of the Malolos Constitution for 1998. Bannered as the "*Decade of Centennials of Nationalism and Independence*," the movement followed the tradition in the PHA of celebrating significant events in the country's history and observing the centenaries of leading historical personalities.

The PHA's "Decade of Centennials of Nationalism and Independence" was taken up by the administration of President Fidel V. Ramos. A Philippine Centennial Commission was created which designed two big celebrations --- the first in 1996 to mark the centennial of the Philippine Revolution and the Martyrdom of Rizal, the second in 1998 to mark the centennial of the proclamation of Philippine Independence, the writing of the country's first constitution, and the founding of a Filipino nation. Under the auspices of the Philippine Centennial Commission, an international conference was held in Manila in August 1996. Two PHA Presidents participated in the conference. Rosario Cortes (PHA President 1984, 1985) wrote about *The Politico-Socio-Economic Milieu in Pangasinan on the Eve of the Revolution* while Ambeth Ocampo (PHA President 2000, 2001) critiqued the manner in which Rizal Day has been celebrated in the past (*Memory and Amnesia: Rizal Day Celebrations, 1898-1995*).

To lend popular appeal to the centennial celebration, especially among students in the secondary level, the National Historical Institute launched a nation-wide quiz for public high school students on the life and martyrdom of Rizal and the 1896 Philippine Revolution. The first *Paligsahan sa Kasaysayan* in 1997 proved to be a success. In the following year, the feedback from the regions was to continue the contest. The National Historical Institute expanded the contest to include culture as another theme of the contest and thus renamed it as *Paligsahan sa Kasaysayan at Kultura ng Pilipinas*. The Philippine History Foundation, the funding arm of the PHA, awarded plaques to the *Paligsahan* winners. Gloria Santos (PHA President 1972) and Celestina Boncan (PHA President 2006, 2007) sat as members of the board of judges in the Grand National Finals. They also assisted the National Historical Institute in the formulation and evaluation of the questions.

December 30 of every year is a non-working public holiday in the Philippines. The country marks on this day the martyrdom of Rizal. Part of the celebration is the so-called Rizal Day Lecture which is held in three places that are significant to

Rizal's life --- Calamba where he was born, Fort Santiago where he was imprisoned and tried by a military court, and Dapitan where he was exiled. Time and time again, PHA presidents have been invited to deliver these lectures Esteban de Ocampo in 1969 in Dapitan, Gregorio Zaide (PHA President 1965, 1966) in 1971 in Calamba, Celedonio Resureccion in 1982 in Dapitan, Ambeth Ocampo in 1994 in Calamba, and Celestina Boncan in 2004 in Dapitan, The latest in this roster of PHA presidents delivering Rizal Day lectures is Milagros Guerrero (PHA President 1993) last year (2006) at the National Historical Institute grounds.

In 2005, the PHA launched its latest tribute to the memory of Rizal. This is the seminar-workshop entitled "Teaching Rizal in the Classroom: Making the Rizal Course Relevant in Our Time." The aim of the seminar-workshop is to enrich the capacity of teachers teaching the Rizal Course through a series of lectures focusing on content and methodology. The PHA submitted the proposal as one of the activities to mark the Annual Rizal Day Celebration. The PHA, in particular, felt that the Annual Rizal Day Celebration did not elicit the chest-beating fervor among our countrymen as compared with the heroes of other countries. The PHA attributed this to the fact that the Annual Rizal Day Celebration suffered from the impediment of being held in the middle of two big commercial extravaganzas --- Christmas and New Year --- which totally overshadowed it altogether. What is needed, in the belief of the PHA, is a strong base for the teaching of the Rizalian ideals and this is through the classroom.

The PHA submitted its proposal to the Technical Working Group of the Annual Rizal Day Celebration chaired by the National Historical Institute. The proposal was approved and the pilot seminar-workshop was held at the Rizal Shrine in Dapitan, Zamboanga del Norte. Participants came from Dapitan itself, and other main towns and cities in Northern Mindanao like Dipolog, Ozamiz, Oroquieta, and as far away as Iligan. The seminar-workshop was warmly greeted by the participants who saw this endeavor of the PHA as a much needed shot-in-the-arm for a course that, according to them, many students no longer found relevant.

In 2006, the PHA again submitted a proposal to hold this seminar-workshop. Fortunately, it was again approved. The 2006 seminar-workshop was held at Siliman University in Dumaguete City, Oriental Negros. This seminar-workshop is particularly memorable since it comes during the 50th year of the promulgation of Republic Act No. 1425 or the Rizal Course. In December of this year, the PHA will again submit a proposal to hold this seminar-workshop.

Why is Rizal important to the PHA?

Esteban de Ocampo (PHA president 1960, 1963, 1964, 1969, 1970) wrote an article entitled "Why is Rizal the Greatest Filipino Hero?" The article was published by the National Historical Institute when he became its chairman and executive director. The article has since then been adopted by the National Historical Institute as the official basis in explaining the leadership of Rizal in the pantheon of Philippine heroes.

The article provides three definitions of a hero, all of which Rizal possesses.

First, a hero is a prominent or central character taking an admirable part in a remarkable action or event.

Rizal was the towering figure during the Propaganda Movement. He was more prominent than Marcelo del Pilar, Graciano Lopez Jaena and Mariano Ponce who were also identified with the Propaganda Movement. Two works of Rizal, the *Noli Me Tangere* and the *El Filibusterismo*, contributed the most in the formation of the Filipino nationality.

Second, a hero is a person of distinguished valor in time of danger, or fortitude in time of suffering.

Rizal could have had a rich, happy, and prosperous life but Rizal preferred to sacrifice his personal affections and safety for the sake of his countrymen. He lived far from his family and suffered the rigors of the cold winter in Europe. He endured hunger, deprivation and misery. Rizal stood almost alone against powerful enemies like the Church and the Government.

Third, a hero is a man honored after death by public worship because of exceptional service to mankind

The Revolutionary Government of Emilio Aguinaldo made December 30, the day of Rizal's execution, a day of national mourning. Two revolutionary newspapers, *La Independencia* and *El Heraldo de la Revolucion*, came out with special issues on Rizal's death. In his opening address at the Malolos Congress Aguinaldo invoked the spirit of the departed heroes, the first of whom he cited was Rizal.

Even before his death, Rizal's peers in the Reform Movement looked up to him. The Filipinos in Barcelona and Madrid elected him as honorary president of the *La Solidaridad*. He was chosen as *Responsable* of the Asociacion Hispano-Filipino.

At present, the PHA is now in its 52nd year of existence. Fifty-two years ago, the founding men and women of the PHA started with a strong belief in Rizal and what he stood for --- freedom, patriotism, education, progress. We, their heirs, continue to hold on to the same belief. The message that we, their heirs, bring in all the seminars that we hold, whether as a group or individually such as this occasion, is that Rizal is the example of what every Filipino should be to be truly free, proud and progressive.

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